

Maclean's

BROADWAY'S
BURST OF STARS

YOUNG, BLACK AND ANGRY

A TORONTO
RIOT
SPOTLIGHTS
A SEASON
OF URBAN
TENSION



THANK GOD SHE LEFT THE LIGHT ON



Athena, Goddess of Wisdom. The source of light. The light of the Ancient Greek Civilization, which still shines bright all over the world. But nowhere does this light burn brighter than on the Acropolis, site of the Parthenon, the temple of Athena, Goddess of Wisdom, Protector of the City of Athens.

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GREECE
Chosen by the Gods

The Acropolis, Athens

FLY
OLYMPIC

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE MAY 18 1992 VOL 106 NO 20

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Wonderfully acted, gorgeous to look at, Ben-Ari's God is a costume drama with intelligence and wit

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COVER

YOUNG, BLACK AND ANGRY

Scorned by poverty and racial animosity, many young urban blacks occupy a social and economic no man's land in a country that promises itself a haven for people of every race, creed and color. Last week, these toxic ingredients boiled over onto the streets of downtown Toronto after a plainclothes white police constable shot and killed a black man in the heat of a late-night pursuit. — 24

THEATRE

BROADWAY'S STARBURST

A galaxy of Hollywood stars is renewing the lustre of Broadway, the Great White Way. Theatregoers are flocking to see such big names as Glenn Close, who appears in one of the most subtly stellar productions, Death and the Maiden, adding millions of dollars to box-office receipts. — 34



BUSINESS

INSIDE THE TENT

The Reichmann brothers broke with tradition by offering their bunkmate a share in the family company. But the family went more conventional, first analysts are drawing electrifying parallels between the Reichmann management style and the automatic ways of other Canadian business empires. — 40



COVER PHOTO: JEFFREY MAYER/AGENCY

LETTERS

Wild in the streets

Like millions of television viewers, I watched in horror the events in California following the acquittal of four white youths from the Los Angeles Police Department, charged as the savage beating of an unarmed black man ("Streets of hate," *News*, May 11). I cannot recall a time when there was so much support from so many people, transcending borders and racial barriers, to put an end to the treatment of black people as second-class citizens. However, this support will dissipate rapidly if frustrations are not dealt through violent means. Let us pray that a leader will emerge, as did Martin Luther King Jr. at a time of civil rights unrest, and bridge the gap in understanding and tolerance existing among all races.

After Taylor
Wheat, Ont.

I do not understand why people are destroying crime because four policemen are free. Destruction accomplishes nothing, but kills innocent people. That makes the rioters no better than the four LAPD policemen. If we want to change the system, we start by educating our children, not destroying crime.

Ann D. Cleveland,
Wheat, Ont.

Cut-rate franchise

Unless you know of a special rate for "Edna's" Innlets, which the U.S. Postal Service selected to decide which Innlets Innlet will award a new 28-cent stamp ("Edna vs. Dora vs. Bess," *Opening Notes*, April 27), the price for sending a letter to the United States from Canada is 48 cents, not 47 cents as reported.

P. E. Ryan,
Toronto

The way of the world

Since France has explained its hypocrisy's terms what free trade is all about in her April 27 column, "Opening free trade is like opening poverty." She is correct when she writes that "The rich must open up markets to help the poor." Canadians may think that sending donations to such organisations as Oxfam will solve the problem of world poverty. Not so. We will eventually have to accept France's conclusion, "The progressive elimination of trade worldwide is inescapable... because of enhanced expectations [of poor people]."

Bruce McGarry,
Ottawa



Los Angeles police confront demonstrators: 'Let us pray that a leader will emerge'

By comparing free trade opponents to King Canute, Diane Francis continues to assign the reputation of Canute the Dane, the 11th-century conqueror of the North Sea, to the 11th-century conqueror of the North Sea. He was far wiser than she suggests. In ordering his men to the tide, Canute was showing excellent political sense by demonstrating to his leering courtiers and others that their ruler was simply a man—and all powerful, but certainly not a god. In today's political arena, a similarly modest approach from our leaders might not be amiss.

John D. Hely
Kentville, N.S.

Cash crunch

Your article about cash shortages in municipalities was useful and balanced ("Local crisis," *Canada*, April 27). I would like to indicate, however, that the federal-provincial transfer payments you cite do not reflect the full extent of Ottawa's contribution to the provinces. Your figures include only the cash portion of total transfers. In addition, Ottawa transfers significant amounts to the provinces in tax points under the tax (E)-established Program Financing program. When these are included, total transfers increased at an average annual rate of about 4.7 per cent between 1985 and 1990, as they will for 1991-1992. They will total \$38.8 billion in 1992-1993—not the \$20.5 billion cited in your article.

Hon. Donald Mazankowski,
Minister of Finance,
Ottawa

Interpreting the media

I am writing to express my skepticism to Fred Manning's justification for the destruction of a man's freedom in his May 4 column, "How a private citizen lost his privacy rights." Manning writes that "journalists gather the news, protect it from competing influences and get it out to the people where it belongs." He cautions—or cautions—one vital aspect of the process: the journalist's interpretation of what is being reported. When that is used of morality or humanity, one might believe such a word to be a "corrupting influence." According to Manning, "The process is imperfect," but unfortunately it is not improved when human suffering is exploited to get a story.

Glen King,
Mississauga, Ont.

Due recognition

Hats off to Madeline's for "On the front line," your May 4 special report on the Canadian Forces and its peacekeeping efforts in Yugoslavia. In your editorial, "The best in the world," you write of the "dashed Van Doan," yet no mention is made of the Royal Canadian Regiment despite the fact that most of the soldiers you interviewed are "Regals." The act is Canada's oldest regular force infantry regiment, having participated in all of Canada's conflicts from the North West Rebellion in 1885 to last year's Gulf War. Recognition is due to both of these famous regiments.

Paul Stanborough,
Montreal

Letters may be condensed. Please supply name, address and daytime telephone number. Write letters to the Editor, National Business, Montreal, Quebec, H3T 2G4. Tel: 514-963-7777. Fax: 514-963-7778.



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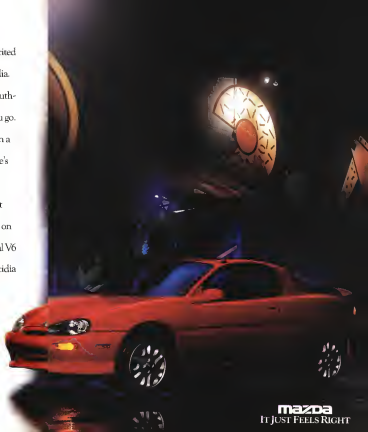
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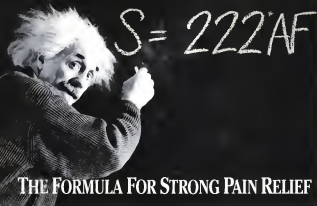
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REG. NO. 10208	REG. NO. 10209	REG. NO. 10210	REG. NO. 10211
REG. NO. 10212	REG. NO. 10213	REG. NO. 10214	REG. NO. 10215
REG. NO. 10216	REG. NO. 10217	REG. NO. 10218	REG. NO. 10219
REG. NO. 10220	REG. NO. 10221	REG. NO. 10222	REG. NO. 10223

Winning Numbers Published in April 1992:

REG. NO. 10224	REG. NO. 10225	REG. NO. 10226	REG. NO. 10227
REG. NO. 10228	REG. NO. 10229	REG. NO. 10230	REG. NO. 10231
REG. NO. 10232	REG. NO. 10233	REG. NO. 10234	REG. NO. 10235
REG. NO. 10236	REG. NO. 10237	REG. NO. 10238	REG. NO. 10239
REG. NO. 10240	REG. NO. 10241	REG. NO. 10242	REG. NO. 10243

The last set of Winning Numbers for the "Maclean's Card Contest"
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OPENING NOTES

Calgary's hard times, Jackson's new face and Canada's top note

NOW IT CAN BE TOLD

When the resilient Joana Trump, 43, leaped into town to bring her new book, *Italian millionaires: Ricordi* (Mannschelk, \$8), Toronto professional groups were in a lull. But there was talk to someone from outside about Trump's *Per Le Vite*, which she was promoting at a highest house party, one even her father-in-law and her mother-in-law. Indeed, Toronto's society columns, like *Revel*, followed up with a post-party dinner, "over which Joana and Mannschelk had a heated argument." Tantalized *Revel*: "Was it about the pretty blonde with whom Mannschelk was engaged in flirt mode?" In fact, the blonde in question was none other than Joana's mom, The Globe



Mannschelk

and *Mail's* Rosemary Sinton, 45, who confessed it to *Revel*: "It's a 15-minute chat with Riccardo, in the presence of Sinton's daughter, Cecilia. Black, 25, who reported later that Trump once fished them a dirty look. Confided Sinton: "It's an atrocious-looking man, but I wasn't flirting with him at all, and he wasn't flirting with me. But he was following up on a post-party dinner, "over which Joana and Mannschelk had a heated argument." Tantalized *Revel*: "Was it about the pretty blonde with whom Mannschelk was engaged in flirt mode?" In fact, the blonde in question was none other than Joana's mom, The Globe



Sinton as flirt

Calgary economy watch

Local and national businesses had a total \$773,500 in an increase of advertising space on 360 channels during the month of Calgary's annual July Stampede (Stampede) Derby, a 10-day series of motor wagon races. The third highest derby to date, it lags behind the 1989 record of \$1.2 million.

Advertising staff looked to shareholders upset over a slack company performance. Peter-Canada's owner, Wilbert Hopper, brushed off criticism of work slowly progressing in his company-suggested Calgary (and elsewhere) and a holiday cheer for the ever-soaring drug store. "We had a detailed review of services," Hopper told a shareholders' meeting. "Soon, people will start to know my work too." But Chairman Bill's use of a company Challenger jet to commute between his Ottawa home and Calgary will cause him to history. The plane is so far into the overcast, just hatched, for the same reason, as the way out.



Hopper: jet-set and chefless

WORD FOR WORD



HUNGRY KIDS

National Health and Welfare Minister Benoit (Benoit) is promoting a two-point, \$200-million plan for Canada's poor, shamed and hungry children. The second phase of Ottawa's "Brighter Futures" program, the first stage involves the baby bonus with a selective child tax credit. It will provide nutritional guidance, advice for pregnant women and out for children's health and social programs. Some concerns:

"I hope that Canadians will see that besides so many happy kids in Canada, we have those who would like also to have a happy life on holiday day... to be well dressed when he's in school because he does not want people to look him."

—Benoit, Ottawa, May 4

"It's almost like choosing your eyes to the reality that there are our million children now living in poverty."

—Rosemary Sinton, co-ordinator of the Child Poverty Group

"There were 700,000 children crying on food banks last year in Canada. This package won't help them at all."

—Laurie Bell, executive director of the National Anti-Food Poverty Organization

"What does it have to do with the children's reality, poverty? It's not a children's reality. Children don't work."

—Benoit, at a Winnipeg news conference, May 6

COOKING FOR KIDS

A big from Energy Matters, a guidebook for children issued by the Ontario energy department on May 4.

"To heat food up, use microwave ovens, which are three times more energy efficient than electric stoves."

OBESITY DOES

National Centre Health Survey, May 4.

"By overfeeding and feeding white scraps, people are killing their pets with kindness."

The life of lucre

Along with the erosion of our country's purchasing power over the years, inflation and anti-consumerism, design-conscious have pushed up the cost of making bank notes. The Bank of Canada's newly issued \$1,000 bills, which include a reflective film patch that changes color (green and gold when tilted, red and gold when upright), cost more than \$100 to make, up from \$10 in 1987, was exempted from a

reduction of paper currency in the 1970s because "all the old \$1,000 notes were still in there now and coming," says bank spokesman Guy Theriault. Indeed, the bank estimates that the bag bill has an average life span of 35 years. Explains Theriault: "It is not the kind of bank note you just stuff in your pocket."



Stacks rising for the other bills

\$2-\$5 notes	\$20-\$25 notes
\$5-\$10 notes	\$50-\$100 notes
\$10-\$25 notes	\$100-\$250 notes

A child's-eye focus on fame

He has hobnobbed with the likes of Gracie Hanks, Burt Reynolds and the Rolling Stones that for Odeon's *Children*, 14, it is all in a day's work. Over the past two years, the Prince schoolboy, his father (owner of the realty, has been documenting playwright Victor Havel's life as the president of Czechoslovakia. Havel, when Havel belatedly after spotting him day after day at the gate of Havel's Castle, has set in his Havel's meetings with world leaders, joined him at dinners with artistic friends and co-ordinated him on a sending trip to New York for a UN conference on children's rights. Children who in 1990 took the last shot for a week, instead a discreet silence on the president's conversations with the powerful and famous. "I don't want to what they say," he claims. "The just about." And what is the building's president's reaction with Havel? "I photograph the president because I like him," says Havel. "He is a very photogenic, unlike Dan Quayle, who always looks the same."



Quayle (top) Havel

The happy end of a fowl deal

When acquisition of Charles Beer's campaign for the Ontario Liberal party leadership set up for the convention in Hamilton's Copps Coliseum in February, their first problem was a huge advertisement above the section of the stands assigned to Beer and his supporters—"Battling Beer's Canada's favorite turkey." They quickly turned the sign black and white and, to compensate the advertiser, arranged to pay 15 cents of its product, enough to feed 600 people. Now, the campaign's plan to cover the estimated \$2,000 cost of the banner by selling tickets to Beer's supporters for a Thanksgiving dinner—but one that will be served by the children of food banks, a complete backfire. At least, says Beer, who finished fourth behind winner Lynn McLeod, "I guess it meant that I was not as desirable as a turkey."



A DARKER SHADE OF PALE

The powers at New York City's Epic Records are worried that their recording video sets, the anti-consumerism and licensing by Mike Jackson, is appearing altogether too well for his last. That helped to explain the singer-dealer's partnership with black supermodel Kiana Campbell on the latest video, *It's a Good Thing*. In the short, a production that includes heterosexual posing and more dancing. At that, indeed, as the company fired computer whizzes after the filming of a video video to darken her black Jackson's sexual life, Jackson, as Epic president David Glen told company executives at a pre-release



meeting, "The problem we have with Michael is that we have to make him more real." Next to sharpen a much more real, Jackson is filming a video with Jennifer Jordan, the Chicago Bulls superstar.

PASSAGES

DEAD: Marlene Dietrich, 80, whose sultry voice and actress body made her an international sex symbol for more than half a century, in the Paris apartment where she had lived in intimate isolation for more than 15 years. Born in Berlin, Dietrich became an exiled anti-Nazi, took off U.S. citizenship in 1939 and entertained Allied troops during the Second World War. Her portrayal of the cabaret performer-prostitute Lola-Lola in the 1930 movie *The Blue Angel* made her star. In the 1960s, she began two decades of successful nightclub performances that ended when she broke her leg in 1975.



CANCELLED: After 27 years, The Young Doctors Show starring country music star Tommy Hunter, 55, by NBC TV to what a network representative described as "mutual decision." Only Post Paper Challenge has run for a long period of time on the air.

DISCLOSED: The marriage of rock star David Byrne, 45, and supermodel Iman, 36, in a small civil ceremony, on April 24 in Los Angeles, Switzerland. It is the second marriage for both.

DEAD: Three-time Jean Award-winning musician Brian (The Good) MacLeod, 59, of a rare form of cancer, is hospitalized in Vancouver. A member of the rock groups Chilliwack and Headplus in the 1960s, MacLeod

produced albums and wrote songs for a host of Canadian performers, including rhythm-and-blues singer Billy Norwood-Davis' country and western's The Good Brothers and pop rockers Loverboy.

DEAD: Child psychologist Lee Salk, 65, of cancer, at a New York City hospital. A popular commentator on a broad range of social and cultural issues, Salk was the author of eight books.

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ELEMENTS



Racism: an excuse for riots and theft

BY BARBARA AMIEL

As riots go, the Toronto disturbances have been pretty low-key. They seem to start after school or work, and end by 11 p.m., thus allowing everyone to go home and have a good night's sleep.

In the wake of the disturbances, everyone is trying to separate the peaceful protesters from the criminals. Nobody (that many of the people who marched down to the U.S. Consulate had absolutely no intention of going on to brawl with police on Yonge Street, and a number of them may not have had anything to do with the subsequent violence. But to suggest that the search and the subsequent riot are unrelated is untrue.

Both the search and the riot were inspired by a fairly fresh of liberal perspective on racism. But for the past 30 years has said blacks in North America the culture that working in life is their fault, and that they are entitled to vent their frustrations by stealing or destroying what belongs to others. This perspective was given official imprimatur in the 1982 Komar presidential commission report, which, in the U.S. sociologist Ernest van den Haag's brilliant analysis, blamed "the riots on their riotous anger." This view was easily updated last month by the U.S. black leaders and congressmen who, before the riot was resolved at the Rodney King trial, told Americans that if the Los Angeles police were guilty of using excessive force, it is not believe that it was and the riot, re-emerged, clearly, the jury came to the same conclusion. Also, suppose which taken time to study cases in North America knows that the current procedures across King are not unique to the bombing of Brixton.

The whole nature of police needs some rethinking. There is a culture among some policemen in which anyone who causes them discomfort or looks "suspicious" is seen as a candidate for strong-arm tactics. The police are not in business simply to arrest suspects who put their hands on property. Four policemen are still handcuffed as accused men like Rodney King who are already on the ground without the addition of the force. Money—and if they can't resist provocation, then they might not be to policemen.

While the vast majority of blacks remain law-abiding and hardworking, little support is given to them by our politicians and intellectuals. Worst of all are the black activists who resent the great majority of the black community by emphasizing the so-called "oppression" of those who take to criminal activities or vandalism. Add to this the latest political opportunism of a few black politicians calling the riots a "wake-up call," and the arguments for trouble are a piece.

Flawed liberalism has sold blacks the notion that they are entitled to vent their frustration by stealing or destroying

police in which anyone who causes them discomfort or looks "suspicious" is seen as a candidate for strong-arm tactics. The police are not in business simply to arrest suspects who put their hands on property. Four policemen are still handcuffed as accused men like Rodney King who are already on the ground without the addition of the force. Money—and if they can't resist provocation, then they might not be to policemen.

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The graduate phase of the Toronto riots was the shooting of a black suspect by police. "A black man with a knife and a shot dead. Who else ever pulled that?" thundered Rev. Ogden Okamoto of the Black United Front in Halifax on the front page of *The Globe and Mail*. The next day, any man running

towards the police with a knife in his hand, wearing a shirt, would be fired at regardless of color. Furthermore, Rev. Okamoto's statement appears to have been made before he had a clue as to what the sequence of events was. How would he know that there was no justification? The independent investigation by John Oler seems to have confirmed the police version of the sequence of events.

Why have black activists tried to use these rhetoric about splitting racism in Canada? Canadians know themselves, and they know Canadian society as not racist. One can only conclude that some black activists want to incite as much dissonance and unrest as possible among us all, in order to build a power base for themselves. One sees a parallel in the Nazis who exploited the very real problems in Germany to build up their power.

The real problem America and Canada must face is the growth of an increasingly violent underclass. Why is that underclass largely black? Clearly, it has nothing to do with race since so many blacks have achieved brilliantly in every possible field of endeavor, as well as creating stable working and middle-class lives. Nor can the racism which has haunted the lives of U.S. blacks right up to the civil rights legislation of 1964 now be considered a cause. East Indians, Pakistanis and Koreans were not among the thousands arrested in Los Angeles. They were not proper. The most severely oppressed people in California must surely be the Japanese whose property and freedom was taken from them in the Second World War, and yet not one of them sought revenge by taking part in the L.A. riots.

"I believe," one American sociologist told me, "that blacks can achieve as well as any group with one difference: they must love their communities and achieve as individuals, unlike Jewish, East Indian and Chinese people whose communities nurture excellence." This may be true, and it could be the basis for new social structures. But again, it may not be true. All we know for certain is that we are not allowed to know anything. The minute anyone tries to begin research on blacks, their culture or crime statistics — or one policeman once did — there is an unbelievable outcry. At the same time, black activists are activists without feeling an eye, claiming that while only one per cent of people in Toronto are black, they comprise 30 per cent of the jail population. I don't believe these statistics for a moment, but even if they were true, Canadians will not buy the patently ridiculous notion that the police go around robbing or bludgeoning purely racist reasons.

One is hard put to think of a city in the world that has accumulated, as vividly and with such ease, a larger affluence of cultures than Toronto. In the end, one is left with the fact that the riot was — the Koreans, East Indians and other minorities whose small shops had their windows broken and black looted after years of patient hard work of paying taxes, of taking nothing from that system but putting everything in it. They have been betrayed by a mob excited on by a cheap vision of a decayed and corrupt idealism.



Men wait for work outside a Mexico City auto plant: a new pact would renew the debate over the 1989 free trade deal

CANADA

GOING FOR BROKE

Only weeks earlier, the discussions were characterized more by distrust than by harmony. With major free-trade discussions, Canadian, U.S. and Mexican negotiators trying to conclude a North American free trade agreement (NAFTA) in Montreal last month offered little to their proposers of a bilateral trade deal. But after negotiations from the dense, confrontational trading partners met again in Mexico City at month's end, it suddenly appeared that a critical corner had been turned. "My sense is that we're down to the line-tuning—a little while thing could be over in a matter of weeks," said Neil De Koker, president of the Toronto-based Automotive Parts Manufacturers Association, in an inter-

AN APPROACHING THREE-WAY FREE TRADE DEAL POSES A NEW SET OF RISKS FOR THE FEDERAL TORIES

view last week. Added De Koker, who is also an adviser to Ottawa in the negotiations. "They are no longer talking about concepts and general principles. They are really talking about specifics and paragraphs."

Now, the political implications for all three signatories are also coming under scrutiny. For the Mexicans, the prime source of continental free trade, an agreement will represent a triumph for the government of President Carlos Salinas de Gortari, now into the second half of its six-year mandate. In the United States, which is facing a presidential election in November, George Bush, who last month ordered his negotiators to accelerate their work, clearly hopes to make the second part of his re-

election campaign, despite strong protectionist sentiment among U.S. voters. Even if, as expected, congressional approval of a NAFTA does not take place this year, negotiators say that an agreement among the three partners could help the Republican president win the votes of traditionally Democratic Hispanic voters in Texas and California, where a NAFTA is expected to have positive effects.

But for Jean Maloney's Conservative government, a NAFTA presents a political challenge, especially if the national economy continues to partially slow down out of recession. Opinion polls show that a large majority of Canadians have not forgiven the Tories for negotiating the 1989 Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement (FTA)—which is widely blamed for the country's falling economy—and that many fear the consequences of a NAFTA.

For one thing, Parliament is unlikely to debate a non-protected pact until 1993, after Congress acts. That would place the debate at the center of Canada's political stage, possibly during the next federal election campaign.

Dean Tindall, a member of Carleton University's school of international affairs and co-author of *Push and Pull: A 1991 book on the FTA*. "The timing couldn't be worse for the government. They're going to have to go to the polls soon. And what is NAFTA doing to going to do is cause the whole issue of the parliament of the government in going into the FTA."

In itself, a NAFTA would be smaller in scope than the FTA. Canada's two-way trade with Mexico amounted to only \$1 billion in 1991, compared with \$180 billion with the United States. Canada became involved in NAFTA deliberations at its own request when it became clear that Mexico and the United States were interested in negotiations with or without Canada. Said Government House leader Horne Jacobs: "We have to be there."

Now, after 11 months of talks, negotiators are apparently finding some common ground. Mexico has reportedly agreed to phase out protectionist policies that have virtually excluded the import of U.S.- and Canadian-made vehicles and automotive parts. Negotiators have also made substantial progress in such areas as agriculture, customs regulations and dispute-settlement mechanisms.

Clearly, a completed NAFTA could leave the Tories facing as much of the criticism levelled against them for the FTA in the 1986 election. Canadian negotiators express fears of further

threats to Canadian autonomy, while union leaders fear new job losses. And although business largely supports a NAFTA, small-business leaders are already voicing concerns. "Our membership is very split on this," says Catherine Swift of the Canadian Federation of Independent Business, which represents 83,000 small-and medium-sized Canadian firms.

But Tories argue that a new trade pact will contain many benefits. Observed Ontario Conservative MP Donald Boudreau, chairman of the House subcommittee on financial institutions: "Mexico is a market of 80 million people and these negotiations are leading us to being able to get into Mexico with our life insurance companies and banks. And they haven't got many telephone in Mexico—and we're world leaders in telephones. We should not sell this short." As well, the Tories are clearly relying on another potential fact: that a NAFTA will correct many of the problems with the existing FTA. Noted Boudreau: "This presents an opportunity to rewrite some of the other things people didn't like in the FTA."

But according to an Angus Reid poll released last month, 68 per cent of Canadians are opposed to a continental trade deal, while 69 per cent remain opposed to the FTA itself. Says Gordon Brown, who served as Canada's deputy negotiator in the FTA talks: "Politically it's a very dangerous proposition because the FTA, fairly or unfairly, is carrying the can for an awful lot of our current and very serious difficulties." Added Ritchie, now an Ottawa consultant: "By those who take that view, a NAFTA is seen as more of the same—cut, cut, worse."

Some opposition members already appear to be preparing themselves for the fight. Socialist trade critic David Barrett, an opponent of a NAFTA, "The Tories are in a lose-lose situation." Added Reform party spokesman Leanne Watson: "You have a government that has no credibility among trying to flag an agreement of which people are even more skeptical." Patrick LeVine, in turn, admits as Liberal leader Jean Chretien, predicted that "The Canadian people will not believe what the government is going to tell them about that trade agreement. It would be a gift to campaign on."

But the Tories insist heavily concerned about the potential problems of making a NAFTA to a wary electorate. Derek Burrows, Canada's ambassador to the United States and one of the Canadian FTA negotiators, told Maclean's that Maloney recently has twice raised trade concerns in his discussions with Bush in advance of a Washington meeting between the two leaders in May 20—apparently so that the deterioration of Canada-U.S. trade relations has jeopardized Canadian perceptions of both the FTA and an impending NAFTA. Without new and stronger signs that trade can create greater prosperity, many have said, they will not vote their feelings where they can bank the Maloney government's seat—of the polls.

GLEN ALLEN in Ottawa with HEALY MACKENZIE in Washington and NICK KAMLA in Toronto

National Notes

VOTING TO DIVIDE

By a 56-vote majority, voters in the Northwest Territories agreed to a proposed law on dividing the territories into two parts: an Inuit-dominated Arctic and a Western Arctic, where Debe, Métis and non-aboriginal comprise the majority. Federal Indian Affairs Minister Thomas Siddons said that the public would finally have the way for the settling of a \$1.3-billion land claim that has been the cause of a new Inuit-controlled government in the Eastern Arctic by 1999.

SASKATCHEWAN AUSTERITY

In its first provincial budget since taking office in November, Saskatchewan's New Democratic Party government raised the provincial sales tax from seven to eight per cent, imposed a 10-per-cent increase on car taxes, added \$40 million in new and shifted government spending by \$132 million.

SETTING SPORTS PRIORITIES

Canada needs a national sports policy that provides more support for amateur sports, according to three-member federal task force. Established after a 1990 political amateur sports inquiry prompted by senator Ben Johnston's use of steroids, the task force also urged Ottawa to channel funds to successful athletes rather than to a broad range of sports bodies.

IN GOLD BLOOD

Three employees at a McDonald's restaurant in Sydney, N.S., were killed, and a fourth critically injured, after a series of red-blooded shoppings. Police in Cape Breton said that the victims, who were all shot in the head, did not know their assailants and that the motive for the slayings appeared to be robbery.

RATING ONTARIO

The influential New York-based Standard and Poor's Corp. dropped Ontario's credit rating from double-A plus to double-A minus, an action that will increase the cost of borrowing for the province. The new rating followed Ontario's April \$8 budget, which projected a deficit of \$8.9 billion for 1992-1993.

BACK TO THE BASICS

An independent New Brunswick commission delivered a 42-point plan to improve the province's school system. Among the key recommendations: increasing the number of annual instructional days to 190 from 182 and improving measures to ensure the performance of teachers' and students' progress.

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CANADA

Dread at the minehead

An explosion rips a Nova Scotia coal mine

Not for more than 40 fortunate years had residents of Nova Scotia's Pictou County experienced the tribulation shock and the sense of dread that follows it. When it hit at 8:16 a.m. on Saturday, May 3—the fourth round of an explosion similar to some people, the bump and tremor felt by many—most residents of the Pictou hamlet of Plymouth were in their beds. But not the 26 husbands, fathers, sons and brothers on the overnight shift at the 20-year-old Westray mine who were a mile down the pit's sloping shaft at the end last. Hours later, as relays of rescue teams worked their way slowly towards their trapped col-

leagues—but they have a maximum life of only five hours. It was not enough to save any survivors of the blast.

When the blast rocked Plymouth, opening wreckage is far in the mouth of the mine and spreading a cloud of black ash, the trapped men were working at the face of the huge and notorious Pictou Seam. Rated the world's largest bituminous coalfield, the seam starts across Pictou County for about 20 km and reaches the Pictou Seam as high as a four-story building. But the Pictou is dangerous because of the explosive methane that it contains. In 11 previous fatal explosions in Pictou mines have



Fire truck and workers at Westray minehead after the blast; notorious bituminous

leagues, Robert Hoag, a retired miner and rescue specialist who oversaw the last Pictou explosion at nearby Skelton on Jan. 14, 1951, when 13 men died, offered a gloomy answer last: "I don't think there's much hope."

That assessment proved impressively prophetic. By 11, there was no hope left. The teams of specially trained mine rescue workers had converged on the blast-shattered coalfield in north-central Nova Scotia from neighboring coalfields. By then, faced by the limits of the oxygen tanks strapped to the backs of their orange coveralls, teams of rescuers progressed methodically down the roadway of the shaft replacing and repairing ventilation ducts that were disabled by the blast. The men were to get on to the men below and to prevent any breathing methane gas, the suspected cause of the explosion. The men at the coal face were equipped with so-called self-rescuers to assist

between 1836 and 1961, which took a toll of 244 lives, eight were on the Pictou Seam of those were in the deadly Allan Shaft, now closed, which lies less than the length of two football fields away from the Westray mine.

That location and its history contributed to controversy that has dogged Westray since before it was opened in September, 1989, by Toronto-based Carruth Resources Inc. to supply coal to Nova Scotia Power Corp. Westray, which employed 225 people, including 100 miners, has had trouble meeting its delivery schedule and, last November, Carruth announced that it was putting the mine up for sale to raise cash for its other operations. But for many people in Pictou County, as Hoag remarked while he waited near the minehead in the steady rain, "The Pictou Seam has never been anything but a graveyard."

JOHN DEMONTE in Plymouth



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Bourassa (left), Gertty: a public relations triumph that masked deep divisions

A premier's victory tour

Bourassa's charm wins over skeptical westerners

They are old allies in Canada's ongoing constitutional battle. After all, as his province's premier, general in 1982, Saskatchewan Premier Roy Romanow played a key role in getting the Constitution—a deal that Quebec viewed as a betrayal not related to a part of the last week, an so unacceptably means day to Regan when Quebec Premier Robert Bourassa was the man whose many Quebec nationalists view as an enemy, the past several years. During Bourassa's 11-hour meeting with Romanow in Regina after similar meetings with Alberta Premier Donald Getty and British Columbia's Michael Harcourt, the two premiers found that they held much in common. With both of them smiling broadly as they sat with reporters, the Quebec premier declared his reasons into Western Canada—has first in over two years—a success. Added Bourassa, who later met with Manitoba Premier Gary Filmon in Winnipeg: "The will to keep Quebec within Canada, to protect the future of Canada with all the provinces seems to me to be stronger."

In fact, although significant constitutional disagreements remain, Bourassa enjoyed a warm welcome from westerners. First, his first day, when photographers scopped, his gesture as he helped a female reporter who had stumbled as a step at Vancouver, to his glowing descriptions of the West's "dynamic" cities, Bourassa endeared himself to meetings with the provinces and with editorial boards, he also

impressed those he met with his charm and intellect. As *The Edmonton Journal's* Mark Luss wrote at the end of his visit, "It turns out that as person he possesses an unguessed warmth and a dry humor."

Certainly, one of Bourassa's prime objectives as the trip was to create a favorable impression among westerners, who are largely guided by Quebec's repeated demands that the Constitution be amended to recognize its special needs. Top advisers to Bourassa told Alton that the premier's journey west had been carefully managed to show that Quebec can be as active—not just a participant—in the quest for national reform.

But while Bourassa's western trip was a public relations triumph, his personality and enthusiasm may have misled some westerners into believing that Quebec would be easily led back to the constitutional bargaining table. In fact, as Bourassa reiterated throughout his trip, he intends for now to continue his boycott of federal-provincial meetings, announced after the failure of the Meech Lake accord two years ago. In Quebec, one senior government adviser explained that Bourassa fears a resurgence of separatist forces, similar to that which followed the demise of Meech Lake, if Quebec again participates in unsuccessful negotiations. Declared Bourassa: "Going to the table when a key issue is involved is going to a table where there is a risk of failure. If there is a failure, then we will be worse off than we are now."

And as Bourassa's trip made clear, many unresolved issues continue to cloud the constitutional horizon. Chief among them is the demand, especially strong in Alberta, for a so-called Triple E Senate—effective, elected and equal. Bourassa, like Ontario's Bob Rae, opposes that kind of Senate, and the Quebec leader told Getty that Alberta should be satisfied with a more equitable, rather than equal, Senate. But Getty has been refused.

Still, Bourassa showed a measure of sympathy with some of the westerners' demands in Alberta, he showed that so equal and effective Senate might have blocked the 1980 National Energy Program, confirmed by Albertans as an unwelcome federal intrusion. Declared Bourassa: "We can easily understand their will to prevent another situation like that. We are open to discussion."

For his part, Romanow also showed himself to be open to discussion. The premier told reporters that he supports giving Quebec a veto over most constitutional changes. Romanow also warned that some Canadian politicians may have to water down their demands—or risk fracturing the nation. The Saskatchewan premier added that compromise could come only through "reason and a lot of debate." At that point, Bourassa interjected with a very laugh: "And a lot of luck." With the country's constitutional future still in doubt, the Quebec premier is clearly not scoring the intention of change.

NANCY WOOD in Regina



CANADA WATCH

Senators who dominated the United Nations' meetings on constitutional issues in Saint John, N.E. Representatives of Alberta, Manitoba and Saskatchewan reported that a Senate that is elected, effective and equal members from each province. But they also said that it all provinces are to be represented equally in the Senate. They will insist that all Canadians be represented equally in the Senate—on which they would place more seats in Canada's next provincial elections.

Others sought legal advice on whether it can act quickly, such as a national unity referendum. Meanwhile, Conservative House Leader Dennis Austin said that it would be impossible to hold such a referendum before the late autumn—a six to eight month report on Canada's official language commission. Victor Goldstein, the senior official delegation as a positive force to federal unity.

QUOTE OF THE WEEK

"It's like negotiating in a vacuum, here because such an important vote is out of the table."

—Saskatchewan Justice Minister Robert Marshall on Quebec's boycott of the constitutional talks

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The Quebec City spy

A former PQ cabinet minister is unmasked

As a top dog spy story, the meetings were clandestine—quick, furtive contacts in anonymous hotel rooms where shadowy government agents exchanged information and money with an undercover operative vividly nicknamed French Minceur. For years, the other unnamed secret. But last week, Radio-Canada, the CBC's French-language service, revealed the story and unmasked French Minceur: Claude Morin, a former constitutional adviser to

Albert the former Quebec cabinet minister, who will be 63 this week, acknowledges his murky association with the RCMP, he relates charges that he served as a paid informant. "I learned more from the RCMP than they ever learned from me," he claims, asserting that he had, in effect, served as a double agent for the PQ. "If we were going to be the leading party, it would be good to know where the balls were being swung," he said, rejecting the phrase

spent every two months in hotel rooms in Quebec City and Montreal. According to Morin, the meetings continued after the PQ came to power in 1994, when he became Lévesque's assistant of intergovernmental affairs, and lasted until 1997. He also says that in 1979, at the suggestion of the RCMP, he agreed to accept between \$500 and \$800 as "compensation" for taking part in each meeting. But he claims that he never spent the money for his own personal use. "I opened a special account and distributed the funds to my parents and to the PQ," Morin says.

Morin also says that he informed Lévesque and then Minister Michel Andr   Bolduc of his secret contacts. He also says, says Morin, that he was not in the room, and he insists that his activities allowed him to find out which people the RCMP suspected of being security risks—and then warn those individuals. Above all, Morin said, he established no firm rule as his dealings with the RCMP. "The day you ask me about the Parti Qu  b  ciste, I'll pause. I've never spoke about the PQ."

Despite Morin's reassuring interpretation of events, the disclosures provided confirmation in Quebec. PQ leader Jacques Parizeau, for one, attempted to minimize any damage to the separatist cause by calling the affair yet another example of the "violent illegal" interference by federal authorities in Quebec affairs. And in Ottawa, members of the opposition Bloc Qu  b  ciste suggested that the federal government may have leaked the Morin story as an attempt to discredit Quebec separatists. But Conservative Attorney General Joe Clark denied that Ottawa had been responsible. "I can give that assurance integrity," Clark said. "I'm not surprised the Bloc Qu  b  ciste would make that accusation. They're suffering some embarrassment undoubtedly as a result of this news."

Morin, meanwhile, says that he is at a loss to explain why the story has surfaced now—and who is responsible for leaking the information. "I wish I knew," he remarked with a sigh. "I know there are a lot of people in Ottawa who hate me, but I cannot believe this information has come from the federal government. I do not understand who else would be interested in releasing it now." Regardless of the source or the reason, Morin's admission as the RCMP's French Minceur is suddenly paying dividends that he probably never expected.



Morin: insisting that he was, in effect, a PQ double agent

The disclosures about Morin provoked outrage from federal and Quebec opposition politicians who demanded to know why the RCMP had attempted to infiltrate a legitimate political party and a democratically elected government. As well, the revelations raised questions about the timing and motivation of the emboldened sources who leaked the news of Morin's covert activities to Radio-Canada. And they tarnished the reputation of the individual who has been widely regarded as the architect of the PQ's gradualist approach to secession, which allowed the party to win office in the first place. Morin himself will have a hard time coping with the Quebec political scene, however, remains unclear. Still, one highly placed adviser to Premier Robert Bourassa: "It's an interesting revelation—and a will not survive some of the separation—but I doubt that it amounts to anything more than that."

Morin himself will likely suffer the cost.

he used to interview with Radio-Canada and in an article he wrote that was widely published in Quebec's French-language press last week.

According to Morin, the Ministry approached him in 1974, shortly after he had left his post as deputy minister of constitutional affairs in the Quebec civil service to join the PQ. He claims that the RCMP was worried about foreign agents infiltrating the PQ and other separatist organizations, a concern that he says was part of the general "paranoia" of the period. In 1974, he began meeting with RCMP

BARREY CLARK is in Montreal

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BLACK AND ANGRY

Elton Richards still does not know who shot her son. Joel happened on a busy Saturday night in mid-March after he just walked out the door of their tiny 2½-story bungalow in a working-class neighborhood of northern Toronto. He was just going for a stroll, the 35-year-old black newsman's mother told him. He was home alone, and he asked her to leave his door unlocked so that he could let himself in when he returned.

He never did. Shortly after 5 a.m., a phone call shattered the peace in Elton Richards's home. Jolted out of her sleep, she picked up the receiver and heard a strange voice telling her that her son had just been gunned down outside a shabby townhouse project less than three blocks from her home. Arriving there minutes later, she found Joel sprawled over a concrete porch, bleeding heavily from a bullet wound in the neck, surrounded by

some of the 55 revelers attending a massive all-nighter house party. "He was screaming—and I never knew him going like that," Elton Richards recalls. By all accounts, a black gunman at the party had aimed his revolver man walking out the front door of the house, but Elton Richards wanted, four weeks later, that Richards died as a result of a massive blood clot in his lungs. Richards's mother says that none of the people at the party admits to having seen the gunman, and police have not issued a description of a suspect. "They're fighting, and an innocent one got killed," says Richards. "He didn't even know what happened until he fell down and felt his body getting numb. I'll come up in 10 min. Just. I cry—I know he's not coming back."

To the family and friends that Joel Richards left behind, the cause of his death was painfully obvious: he was simply in the wrong place at the wrong time. But that fatalistic explanation defies the ugly reality of life for thousands of young urban Canadian blacks. Scourged by poverty and racial animosity, they occupy a social and economic no man's land in a country that proclaims itself a haven for people of every race, creed and color. To be sure, many of Canada's 500,000 blacks enjoy quiet lives in secure, prosperous surroundings. But others are trapped in a world apart at the bottom of society. Poorly educated, deprived of conventional job opportunities and hardened by repeated humiliations between blacks and whites and among blacks themselves, they are caught in a maelstrom of frustration, rage and despair.

Last week, those long emotions boiled over on the streets of downtown Toronto. Ignited by the spectacle of four white Los Angeles policemen in the savage videotaped beating of black motorist Rodney King, black activists in Canada's largest and most ethnically diverse city had organized a protest rally at front of the local U.S. Consulate. Several similar demonstrations against racism have passed without

A VIOLENT CLASH FOCUSES ATTENTION ON CANADA'S RACIAL DIVIDE

incident, but this time there was an additional, and highly volatile, ingredient: after the announcement of the rally, but two days before the actual event, a white policeman shot and killed a 20-year-old black man after a two-hour chase on foot through dark alleys and backyards in a violent, drug-infested west Toronto neighborhood. The victim was Raymond Cornelius Lawrence, an illegal immigrant and casual laborer who moved to Canada from Jamaica in July, 1980. According to police, plainclothes Const. Robert Blain shot Lawrence, an alleged crack dealer, twice in the chest at close range after the suspect approached the officer with a knife.

Within hours, reports of Lawrence's death had spread throughout the 250,000-member black community in the Toronto region. The resulting anger was a clear catalyst at the protest rally two days later: organizers estimated the thousands of demonstrators that Lawrence was the 14th black victim of a police shooting in the city since 1978, and the fourth black death.

But the orderly protest soon dissolved into an uncontrolled rampage. As angry protesters of the crowd started in hellish outbursts, screams of young men and women—included, alongside, street looting and (unhappily dressed suburban high-school students)—stormed through the heart of the city's central retail district, smashing windows, looting stores and pelting police with rocks and empty bottles fabled out of nowhere, perhaps even longer 360. Police eventually quelled the violence, but later in the week there were several more outbreaks of vandalism and tense standoffs between crowds of young people and riot-ready officers on Yonge Street, Toronto's busy commercial strip.

As cleanup crews lined downtown streets, replacing shop windows and sweeping up debris, merchants and civic leaders issued urgent appeals for an even stronger police presence. But in the midst of the debate over public safety, few people spared much thought for the root causes of last week's senseless violence. Rightly or wrongly, the participants themselves seemed convinced that their actions represented a justifiable response to the poverty and racism that define black urban life. Among them was Donald, a 27-year-old high-school dropout who says he lost his job at a fast-food restaurant last year because of the racism. Born in Toronto to a Jamaican woman who subsequently got him adopted, he ran away from his foster parents when he was 15. He now lives with friends in a two-bedroom penthouse in Regent Park, a concrete jungle that is home to 30,000 of the city's poorest residents. Standing with three friends outside the downtown Saxon Centre, a popular hangout where street kids mingle with middle-class teenagers and another boisterous assortment of peddlers and cult followers, Donald talked openly about the damage that he and his cohorts had inflicted on the white



'I SWEAR TO GOD, I THOUGHT HE BLASTED MY HEAD'

business establishment. "Something that costs them money—that's the only way to get their attention," he snarled. Jim McGee, Mark, 30, said that he was afraid of breaking store windows and stealing merchandise. "All those broken windows can be replaced with insurance money," he added. "The black people who were killed cannot be replaced."

It is a chilly afternoon in the Montreal ghetto of Little Burgundy, situated at the shadow of an elevated expressway that cuts the area off from the boutiques and bars of downtown Montreal. In a small concrete park surrounded by sterile government-owned housing projects, half a dozen adolescent blacks are shooting baskets when two white adults arrive their way. One of the boys walks over to the strangers, remains at them and slowly returns them of basketball. A girl of a nearby bleacher later, when the incident in hospital, he lets down his guard and introduces himself as Laron Nigel, a 14-year-old student who lives with his mother and five other brothers. His father, he says regularly, lives "somewhere in the States."

In spite of their youth, Nigel and his friends are well-versed in the politics of race. They are capable of describing in graphic detail the videotaped beating of Rodney King, and older by name to the three young black men. Lately shot by Montreal police in the past five years. Anthony Griffin, 20, killed while trying to escape custody after a quarrel with a taxi driver, Pringle Leslie, 20, shot four times in close range at a demonstrators' rally after an alleged sexual confrontation with police. Marcello Thompson, whose life ended with a single bullet to the head last July 3. A white teen knocked the unarmed 20-year-old father of four, who was sitting on the passenger seat of a car that had been pulled over during a police drug operation, but another man wanted to attempt criminal charges. Last week, a Quebec coroner's report on the Thompson killing criticized what it described as the "totally unacceptable" level of racism within the Montreal police force. Among other things, the report cited derogatory remarks made during the opera-

tion by officers, who referred to blacks as "shitheads" (swearing) and "niggers" (twice). One of Nigel's neighbors, 15-year-old Jerry Murray, recounts his own experiences with the police—incidents that have led to his deep distrust of white authority. "One night I was walking with two white guys, coming back from basketball," says Murray, an amateur boxer

to us and tells us we have to leave because there wasn't enough people in the store to watch us. I just wanted to go to bed, I was so angry. I know it's because I'm black—yeah, I'm black and I'm proud of it."

In a private room on the third floor of a downtown Toronto hospital, a 36-year-old Jamaican immigrant is recovering from a painful operation. A large rectangular plaster bandage is taped over his left eye. Two days earlier, doctors removed a section of artery from his groin and used it to repair a 25-cm-diameter hole in his leg. Propped up on pillows, he describes himself as an innocent victim of mistaken identity.

In fact, the details of the shooting remain obscure. An unemployed construction worker who built the monstrous build of a weight lifter, the victim says that he was standing in a townhouse complex parking lot in the middle of the afternoon early last week when two strangers, one bald and stocky and the other with short, dark, wavy hair, approached him. "One thing about a Jamaican, if you look close in his eyes you know what he's up to," he said, glancing up from his bed. "I saw how they were looking at me, so I got in my car and tried to roll up the windows, but I was too slow." One of the strangers, the man added, quickly threw a punch through the window, held it against his head and squeezed the trigger. "I swear to God, I thought he blasted my head, but then I looked down and saw no blood on my chest. That's when I realized he shot me in the leg."

The police, however, doubt that version of events. Lawyers took Michael's last week told Michael's last week that, at the time of the shooting, the victim was driving a car registered to a suspected drug dealer. They also say that he failed to report the accident and that they learned of the shooting only two hours later from hospital staff. Unless he provides a more credible account, says officer said, the injured man may face a charge of police murder.

Still, there is one issue on which he and the police agree: for many young black men, Toronto has become a virtual war zone, pervaded by gun-toting opportunists who are taking the city's trade in crack cocaine. Much of that underground traffic takes place in the highest densities of the Jew-Jew corridor, a north-west Toronto neighborhood dominated by low-income housing. Police say that three out of every four calls for help are gun-related, and, on average, there is a shooting every second day

"Toronto is a city that has these crazy guns out there," said the hospitalized victim at last week's daylight shooting. "When someone gets a gun, he feels like he wants to shoot off and be a crackhead."

Often, the worst trouble occurs not in the street but when people get together to dance and get high. On a typical weekend, according to a recent report by Metro Toronto Police Chief William McCormick, suburban communities such as Scarborough are rocked by as many as 40-night house parties—parties of which attract hundreds of young people who enjoy the pulsating rhythms of reggae rap and hip-hop music blasting out of concert-sized speakers

and black protesters are actually a mixture of distinct communities whose members arrived in Canada at various stages over the past four centuries. Some of the early arrivals from Africa worked as slaves or servants at Nova Scotia and New France in the early 17th century. They were followed by United Empire Loyalists in the 1780s and fugitive slaves from the United States in the early 1800s. Then, at the beginning of the 20th century, hundreds of blacks from Barbados, Trinidad and other islands were recruited in cheap labor for the lumbering and mining industries and the coal mines and steel mills of Nova Scotia. But the largest wave of black immigrants came in the postwar

years when black streams when parents clung to old traditions while their children embraced the values of North American pop culture.

Now 30, Kato, who has regrets about his decision to come to Canada. "Our treatment here in Canada has been harsh, much better than in other parts of the world, especially Europe," said Kato, who now works as a volunteer for a community group that tries to find employment for Ottawa-area welfare recipients. "Sometimes new Canada is a bummer." Kato, whose wife and five children are currently stranded in a refugee camp in Albania, says he is awaiting approval to join his family in Canada, added that he feels little affinity with Americans



Cramped (left), Rhone "people yell" "niggers" out the car window"



Murray (center) and friends in Little Burgundy: remembering the names of black men gunned down by white police

Although house parties are an integral and popular form of recreation for young blacks, they also attract an increasing number of drug dealers and lawbreakers armed with knives and handguns. Says David Wiley, a social worker at a refuge hospital in a Caribbean neighborhood of Toronto. "When we went to house parties 10 years ago, we fought with fists. But now, man, it's a gun race. They dress up to go out disco and wear in someone's basement, but they don't fight with their hands no more. They say, 'I don't want to get up and dirty.' They would rather make them right there."

That kind of violent impulse is as foreign to large segments of black society across the country as it is to the majority of other Canadians. Indeed, what appears to some as a single,

era from Caribbean countries such as Jamaica and Haiti. More recently, Canada has accepted tens of thousands of refugees and immigrants from civil-war-torn African countries, including Somalia and Ethiopia.

For many of the recent arrivals, the adjustment to Canadian society is jarring. Ahmed Kato, 42, is a Somali woman who moved to Ottawa as a refugee after the August, 1990, invasion of Kuwait, where he had spent 15 years working in business and finance. According to Kato, some Somalis with long traditions of respect for authority officials in Canada approve their refugee claims. "They start out staying with friends and then they seek housing subsidized by the government. But even after they get refugee status, they stay on welfare because there are no jobs," he explained. Pan-

os from black communities, especially those from the West Indies. "There is a big cultural gap between these different black groups, especially with the way they dress and their manner of speaking," he said. "Sometimes our only bond coming here since 1985, so it will be a long time before we are comfortable enough with Canadian black groups to feel completely comfortable." A fellow Somali refugee, Toronto taxi driver Mohammed Elmi, complained that some Caribbean-born immigrants had whipped up racial tensions in the city and tarnished the reputation of all blacks. "Not all black people are bad," he said. "It's the Jamaican drug dealers who are causing the trouble. I see them on the street, I never pick them up." Ahmed Elmi, steering a taxi cab away from a line of police officers and cameras that were setting



COVER

off a street full of rioters at the height of last week's destructive melee. "The police are way too lenient with those guys. They're crazy, and their leaders don't represent us."

In Canada's oldest black community, in Halifax, the racial tensions appear more clearly etched between black and white. Walking home from school last week in a neighborhood and a basketball cap, 17-year-old Craig Cromwell, a Grade 11 student at Queen Elizabeth High School, talked about the petty taunts and insults that strangers occasionally level at him and his friends. "Somebody people put 'nigger' on the car window and that kind of stuff," he said.

But Cromwell is clearly less worried by those slurs than by what he regards as the shortcomings of the education system. "At school, when kids complain to the teachers that they find groups of black kids intimidating if they pass them in the hallway. So every time teachers see a group of us congregating together, they tell us to move along." Cromwell recently gathered 120 signatures on a petition complaining about that practice and presented it to the school principal.

At one more serious obstacle, he added, is

the shortage of positive role models in the school system for struggling black students. "I don't see people like myself teaching and I don't see people like myself in the textbooks. No wonder a lot of young blacks have low self-esteem," Cromwell said. "A lot of people say that they hate white people because the whites are doing as well and we are doing as poorly. What they are really saying is that they hate themselves."

Before long, Cromwell is joined by another Grade 11 student, Terry Dixon, the 17-year-old son of a Halifax telephone company employee. The teenagers have both closely followed reports of the recent racial convictions in Los Angeles and Toronto, as well as a less-dramatic flare-up in their own city last summer that began as a routine setting of accounts between two barroom bouncers, one white and the other black. That dispute escalated into a riot when 150 people—mostly black—surrounded downtown store windows and attacked white bystanders. Dixon called it "a war between the races." "It was frustration. It wasn't as much a racial incident—things just got out of control." At the same time, Dixon said that he has passed reports for local police as a result of a recently introduced program in which officers play basketball with neighbor-

hood teenagers. "They know you by name—they are part of the community," he said of the police officers who take part in the program. "Sometimes if you're in trouble they talk with you and let you go. They are all right."

Another program that is helping to break down barriers is the Positive Attitude Youth Group (PAYG), an organization set up three years ago to help black youths in Toronto's Regent Park. "The idea was to help people start filling out the negative stereotypes," explains Ron Wynn, 41, a City of Toronto recreation coordinator who helped to found the group. The area is clearly a breeding ground for social problems; a recent report noted that 62 per cent of the adult residents of Regent Park were unemployed, 61 per cent lacked a high-school diploma and 51 per cent of the families were headed by a single parent—compared with 15 per cent for the rest of Toronto.

The activities of PAYG are intended to foster pride in black achievements and encourage teenagers to look for local heroes. One such meeting took place in a neighborhood recently built over former slum tenements, only a few blocks from the lowest ten streets where small groups of angry youths were taunting police at a riot

last week. Guest speaker Nita Cooper, a Jamaican-born teacher, began the discourse by tracing the long history of blackness in Canada. "When people tell you that you just got off of the boat, you should say, 'No we've been here for 350 years.'"

Cooper warned about 25 teenagers sitting in a circle on a steerable chair. She added that the recent arsonists in the city "definitely were accurate because right now, people put fuel that they can break our areas and shoot black people and get away with it."

At that point, a young woman wearing glasses and a brightly colored jumpsuit spoke up. "When someone gets shot, the first thing we do is shoot racism," she said. "But we have to look at the situation. I'm not going to support a brother just because he gets shot—maybe he was selling people or selling drugs. Our people are doing that and we have to open our eyes."

Sean Jones, a 13-year-old high-school football star clad in a grey Flare Hot T-shirt and purple sweatpants, listened intently and then offered his own opinion. Too many young black males, he said, look up to the drug dealers and gangs who prevail there neighborhood. "They see the hell man getting all the money, but they don't see the hell man getting shot," he added that many young men in his neighborhood "try to act out a role—they want people to say, 'Whoa, don't mess with him.' It's in to be bad—you know that is true."

On the other hand, Jones said, local children who show promise at school face constant pressure not to rise above their peers. "If you have a black kid who's doing well, everybody tries to do him down—'Gee, you're making special. Forget about you.' They never give you any encouragement." Jones, however, seems to have transcended that anti-success ethic: In a conversation in the hallway after the meeting breaks up, he explains that his own outlook changed dramatically six months ago when he found religion and began to study the Bible. More recently, he received a partial scholarship from a junior college in Oklahoma. "I'm leaving here in August," he added.

But the anger does not subside. Late last week, Ontario Attorney General Howard Hampton announced that the province had decided not to appeal the acquittals of two white police constables in the December, 1985, first shooting of Wade Lawson, a 13-

year-old high-school student in Mississauga, Ont. During a two-month trial earlier this year, both officers testified that Lawson had tried to run them down with a stolen car. But Lawson's relatives disputed that version of the events, noting that forensic evidence showed that the teenager had been shot in the back of the head. Moreover, the bullet that killed him was a .38-caliber slug known as a "hot bullet," which expands on contact and is banned under the Ontario Police Act. In the wake of Hampton's ruling, Lawson's mother, Evelyn Lawson-

"There are a lot of things in this case that don't add up," complained Courtney Betty, a lawyer who represents the victim's family. "We're going to take a hard look at this."

Still, others were hoping that the tensions aroused by the recent clashes between police and young Torontonians, black and white, would soon fade. One such person was Selwyn Hicks, 29, co-founder of a six-year-old organization that sponsors seminars which enable young people from Canada's several ethnic groups to air concerns about public issues.



According to Hicks, the "best majority" among Canadians in black rejects the bad-line position adopted by well-known activists, including Lawson. "The pressure is very great on a black person to get with the cause," Hicks said. "But I'm interested in finding ways to bring people together, not divide them."

Hicks himself is acutely aware of the barriers that confront young urban blacks. He grew up in poverty in the Jane Finch corridor eastward, as he put it, that "life was about getting old enough to get your own welfare check and then moving out." He added "There were six kids in my family and five different fathers. On top of that, my mother was abusive—she had her own share of problems."

In Hicks's case, salvation came in the form of a Big Brother who took him under his wing at the age of 18. That experience left him with a lasting dedication to community service. He now does volunteer work for several social agencies and was the national youth coordinator for Keith Spencer's commission on racial unity, a job that ended last July. Since then, he has been having a bit of a time. "I've been having a bit of a time," he lamented. "Every day I look through the papers for jobs, but there's nothing." Asked whether he believed that racial prejudice was behind his continuing unemployment, he responded, "It's so tough not to see the cause, but I have to admit I feel it very difficult." For the demands of classism, a youth who are trying to break free of the cycle of despair, it is a sobering reminder of the burden they have to pay to overcome.

Large Street in the riot's wake (opposite) sending a protester (above) demands for tougher enforcement

Lyria held a news conference in the living room of her suburban home, and was supported by prominent activists such as Dudley Lewis, a founder of Toronto's Black Action Defence Committee. "I wanted justice," she declared. "Now I want vengeance."

Adding to that emotional tumult were reports about an alleged police cover-up in the shooting of Raymond Lawrence, the Jamaican immigrant who died in the early hours of May 2 after a police chase in west-end Toronto.

PHIL KAHILA and RAYMOND LAWRENCE with KEN GALLER and JAYMYN in Toronto. JAMES DORWENT in Halifax. CLARA FISHER in Ottawa and ANN McLAUGHLIN in Montreal.

ANATOMY OF A RIOT

A PROTEST DEGENERATES INTO VIOLENCE

It began as a peaceful, multiracial demonstration to protest police violence against blacks in Los Angeles and Toronto. About 500 people, some pushing children in strollers, gathered outside the U.S. Consulate in downtown Toronto to demand justice.

Three hours later, the demonstration exploded into an ugly rampage that curbed a narrow corridor of the downtown area for almost four hours. Victims—many of them whites who had played no part in the earlier peaceful demonstration—sustained wounds of shattered windows with bricks, garbage cans and bottles. Others looted stores, grabbing clothing, jewelry and electronic equipment. When lines of foot police and officers on horseback confronted the crowd, some rioters hurled rocks and debris. Several people sustained injuries, ranging from a broken arm to head wounds, and two policemen were taken to hospital with minor injuries.

Dorothy Lewis, 57, a founder of Toronto's Black Action Defence Committee, claimed that the riot was an extension of the frustration black Torontonians feel about racism, particularly among the city's police. "I was angry," she says. "I was angry that the police were treating white people badly. Others, including Ontario Premier Bob Rae, suggested that the violence was inspired by the work of demonstrators who exploited the protest demonstration for their own ends. Indeed, many of the original demonstrators had left by the time violence broke out. In their place were remnants of the city's disadvantaged youth, including ghettoized and street kids. A chronology of Toronto's night of violence:

4 p.m.: About 500 people, nearly half of them white, gather outside the U.S. Consulate on University Avenue for a scheduled rally to protest racism, among other things. The acquittal of the Los Angeles police officers involved in the Rodney King beating and the fatal bludgeoning of a young black suspect in Toronto.

4:30 p.m.: One of six rioters who were arrested in front of the consulate bearing a sign reading: "We denounce the racist murders of whites." A young black knucks the sign down, and a shouting match begins. The sign-woman is off, but she is carried by angry protesters. Police officers intervene to prevent any violence.

5:30 p.m.: Marching to the intersection of Yonge

and Bloor streets, the protesters listen to more speeches. Occasionally, speakers and demonstrators taunt police officers on the scene.

6:05 p.m.: Organizers lead the demonstrators south, heading for city hall on Queen Street. Groups of youths who haunt Yonge Street join the march. A few marchers throw the first rocks, breaking shop windows.

6:45 p.m.: Outside city hall, some protesters beat rocks, bottles and loose masonry at rioters

ry, yells, stereo equipment and other goods.

7:00 p.m.: At Yonge and Wellesley streets, a policeman stands by the demolished storefront of Nick's Sport Shop, which sells firearms, asking people to move away. Two slogans are stolen, but they are later returned by police. Rioters break glass and hundreds of packages of cigarettes cover the sidewalk in front of a smashed convenience-store window. Occasionally, passersby stoop to pick up packages



Torontonians smash store window on Toronto's Yonge Street: skateboarders and disaffected youth

police who are trying to keep the crowd away from the main entrance. No one politicians speak to the demonstrators.

7:10 p.m.: The crowd, which now has swelled to about 1,000 people, flows back to Yonge Street and the rampage begins. Some marchers occupy a street-corner building carts, while others smash windows with bottles taken from garbage bags. Youth start kicking in doors of store windows and grabbing cigarettes, jewelry

and cigarettes. Youth grab almost the entire window display from a store selling the heavy Dr. Marten brand of shoes and other skidboot paraphernalia. Some stereo merchandise is left outside, even after the glass is smashed.

8:30 p.m.: One policeman, separated from his colleagues, is pulled in a bloody black crowd at Bay and Christie. That three black youth in exert the subterranean and barless violence through the tightly packed crowd to safety. One black



Before the riot, demonstrators protest against police brutality: drawing parallels between Toronto and Los Angeles

teenager yells: "Let's beat up a reporter." He cheers as another youth looks at the window of a bankrupt restaurant. A woman taunts police officers, shouting: "They shoot them, then they plant drugs on them." The crowd cheers as a brick flies through the air and cracks the windshield of a police car.

8:45 p.m.: Along Yonge Street, a few marchers are already starting to clean up, but sporadic violence continues. In a store doorway, a black woman declares that anger had been building in the black community for a long time. "They've been shaking the Coke bottle too long," she says. "Sometime later, the bottle had to explode all over the place."

8:55 p.m.: At Yonge and Christie, a black woman accuses at a white television cameraman: "Percy [his name] said I got from you people. How come you guys never show up except when black people are in trouble?" Nearby, black activist Lewis is urging people to go home.

9:00 p.m.: On Christie just east of Yonge, a 46-year-old white man, Ivan Royce, is arguing with a black youth. Royce says that the riot will harm the black community. The black youth says that violence is the only way to draw attention to the problem of racism. Royce tells the two to calm down, but Royce persists. Suddenly, six youths wearing beret hats over their faces and wearing sweat-soaked leather studded armbands on the scene. One tries to strike Royce, but the surprise crowd deflects the blow. Members of the crowd urge Royce to leave. Seconds later, the attacker lunges into the crowd and hits Royce on the head with a club. Royce is hoisted away by a black



couple as the gang threatens other whites nearby. Someone tries unsuccessfully to unmask the light-skinned assailant.

9:15 p.m.: The same gang of toughs chases a white youth along Christie Street. The youth dodges his pursuers, who turn on Toronto's Globe and Mail reporter Sean O'Malley, kicking him repeatedly before bystanders intervene. The masked youths then challenge three white men walking past in apartment building half a block east of Yonge. A few punches are exchanged before the men escape into the building.

10:00 p.m.: In a supermarket parking lot off Yonge Street two blocks north of Bloor, 12 mounted police officers and others on foot gather to disperse the crowd. A bottle thrown from the mob hits a TV reporter hard on the head. About 15 minutes later, a Molotov cocktail—a flaming bottle of gasoline or solvent—is launched from the crowd into the street. People scatter, but the molotov burns out in seconds and there are no injuries. With that, a policeman yells, "Chaparral" and the law of police starts pushing the crowd, including press photographers, away from Yonge. An officer lifts the flash off Maclean's Photo Editor Peter Braggs a camera and punches him in the ribs.

Midnight: The streets quiet and almost deserted, as officers among the police standing guard at Yonge and Christie say: "When are they going to let us go for coffee?"

JAMES DEACON with DAVID BRADY, JOE CHADLEY, JOHN DILL, PAUL KAPALA, MARY NEMETH and LARRY TOWNSEND in Toronto

'WE ALL SHARE THE BLAME'

ADULTS MUST LEARN TO LISTEN

BY JULES ELDER

The disturbances that erupted in Toronto last week after a peaceful rally to protest the police shootings of blacks have resulted in near hysterical reactions by politicians, the police and the media. Suddenly, many voices are analyzing the situation, trying to discover what caused it and, more importantly, attempting to establish how to prevent a repeat of the vandalism perpetrated by youths—blacks, whites and others.

It is unfortunate that nothing less than such violence finally forced some people to sit back and seriously take note of what is happening. And what is happening is that our youth—the future adults of this country—are crying out for help. There is a feeling of hopelessness in their cry. But are we, the adults, paying attention? In too many cases we are not. It is only when our children act out their frustrations that we sit up and take notice.

We all share the blame.

Background: A few months ago, a 16-year-old Toronto high-school student, already a single mother, called JAMES, the black newspaper where I work, in desperation. Suspended from school, the Grade 10 student feared the possibility she also would be unable to come on to a higher grade at the end of the school year. She had been involved in an altercation with three other students—also female, also black—during which she had been beaten up. She received the suspension largely because of a personality clash between, on one side, the student and her adjectival mother and, on the other, school authorities. Those who did the beating returned to punishment and continued to attend classes.

The suspended student, who told JAMES that she wanted to pull her life together, asked for a transfer to another school. But, apparently, neither her principal nor the school superintendent, both of them black, reached appropriate-



Lilian: 'bussing a deaf ear comes at a price'

cally. They did not listen carefully to what this young woman was telling them—about her concerns over not completing her education, about how fears that she would be involved in further altercations with the three other students. Finally, the school officials agreed to transfer her, but only after I, as the managing editor of JAMES, intervened.

We must learn to listen. Canada's black communities' loss of a number of organizations—the majority of them volunteer-based—during excellent work. Right away of them are also not listening to, and addressing the concerns of, their sons and daughters and their children's friends. Adults hold youth seminars, invite young people to participate—and then ignore them when they voice their opinions. They in turn feel isolated. They say that no one

gives attention. Very often they are right.

For the black youth of Canada, that pattern of encountering superficial attempts to deal with their problems is mirrored in the way that their parents have been dealt with over the years by politicians and decision-makers. They write us to talk to them about our concerns, listen politely—and then do nothing and there is a crisis. Then like "consultations" is repeated. Many adult blacks came to Canada as immigrants. The immigrant Canadians of any ethnic background may consider himself an arrival guest in this country and may be more tolerant of racism and discrimination. Our children are not. They are growing up in a different era and their experiences are different. They are born here and they belong here—it is their birthright. They are demanding that they be treated equally, regardless of the color of their skin, their ethnicity, religion or sex.

They will not be as patient in their parents have been.

Turning adult ear to them comes at a price. This week's riot in Toronto's Yonge Street would not have happened if adults had listened carefully to our young people. Almost a week before the incident, it was common talk in high schools that some students were planning to burn again "Rat" motels and vandalism businesses in downtown Toronto. But anyone in authority got that message and, if so, did they take it seriously? Apparently not.

Background: Now, some people, including politicians and journalists, are blaming the Black Action Defence Committee, the organizers of the rally, for the subsequent riot. But the organizers warned participants against violence and civil disobedience. Committee members, and many other blacks and whites who participated in the rally, attempted to calm the situation. Yet the organizers are being made into scapegoats, while the circumstances that led to the violence again being ignored.

On May 19 in reaction to the rioting and looting in Toronto, Ontario Premier Bob Rae announced the appointment of Stephen Lewis, Canada's former ambassador to the United States, to lead a commission, police, government and other interested parties to explore race relations by developing "a series of action recommendations." Rae also appointed MPP Barbara Hall, former minister of social services, to design a co-ordinated approach to youth employment that "emphasizes co-operation with municipal officials, Ottawa and the private sector."

It may only be more consultations, but let us hope not. Too many people are tired of the endless blarney that is usually associated with advisory commissions and reports. If we do nothing to help our youth deal with their alienation, there is no talking that the future holds. One thing is certain: without action, it will not be as peaceful as it

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COVER

THE YOUNG OFFENDERS

A WAVE OF TEENAGE CRIME SHOCKS OTTAWA

In a quiet suburban neighborhood this spring, police officers found what two young men had done. A 12-year-old Grade 6 student brought in the street with steel bars and knives. Across the city, in a series of violent incidents involving teenagers during the same week in March, one was hit with a hammer at a bus stop, two female teenagers assaulted a third in a dispute over a boyfriend and three 13-year-old boys physically controlled a nine-year-old and stripped him of his running shoes, baseball cap

and Oakland Raiders jacket. Last week, an elderly Asian man walking home in the downtown area at 3 a.m. was beaten with a pool ball by local members of a gang of teenage thugs. The violent encounters were characteristic of police charge sheets in the larger North American cities. But they happened in Ottawa, and they mirrored a wave of crime associated by youthful gang members that affects cities across Canada.

Until recently, teenage crime in Ottawa

usually involved shoplifting and other forms of theft. But during the past 16 months, a heavily organized network of "teenage gangs," with names such as the Overlook Bad Boys, the Nasty Girls and the Nigger Posse, have begun to terrorize Ottawa's school yards, shopping malls and transit depots. According to officials at the Ottawa police, teenage assaults are often carried out for the purpose of stealing specific brands of clothing as part of a suit of initiation rites imposed by gang leaders. Other crimes,

Souths meeting in Ottawa mall: chilling announcement

they say, are committed for the thrill of dominating weaker individuals. Ottawa police officials add that they have handled about 1,500 incidents involving teenage violence since last September. In the same period, an average of two teenagers a day have been charged with criminal offenses, including one murder charge and charges of robbery, assault and possession of concealed weapons. Said Sgt. Dennis St. Louis of the Ottawa police youth unit: "What is disturbing is that most of the kids we deal with are not your traditional bad officers. But the repercussions of their acts don't seem to bother them."

Weapons: The escalating use of weapons and violence as a means of settling disputes or pecking peer status is one of Ottawa's—and Canada's—disturbing types of crime. According to a 1991 Statistics Canada report, violent-crime charges involving youths between the ages of 12 and 19 have increased by 70 per cent since the country since 1982—a higher rate of increase than in any other age

grouping. Experts blame the surge in youth violence on a number of social factors, including the high number of single-parent homes, one-parent pressure and social and television violence. According to Corey MacLellan, an Ottawa lawyer who often defends teenagers charged with violent crimes, there are a lot of disadvantaged kids running around totally out of control. I know some middle- and upper-class kids who will go to school with a shotgun. These are kids who are good at school, good at sports, but they're sure of their dad's shotgun because it is cool to have it under your gun." Corey Foster, head of the guidance department at Ottawa's Coadsworthy High School, says that problems are caused by parents who spend their teenage children because "they don't have the time. They are worn out. They work and sometimes have more than one job."

Sharp: Much of Ottawa's youth crime occurs hidden from the general public. Many victims of so-called swarms—incidents in which the victim is surrounded by teenagers and assaulted or robbed in a flurry of violence—are alive reluctant to press charges. Teenagers interviewed by MacLellan in the Robson Centre, a popular shopping mall and gathering place for youths a block from Parliament Hill, said that there is little pain in robbing a store or taking a ride on a roller coaster. "I've had it happen to me. A big gang of guys comes up and surrounds you and if you don't give them what they want, they beat the crap out of you. If you have knives, you give them what they want."

Of 100 law enforcement reports to Ottawa police since September, about one-third reached the courts. Only youths from the ages of 12 to 17 can be charged with criminal offenses under the Young Offenders Act. According to police, there were 46 assaults and 24 thefts reported since September in Ottawa's elementary schools. In the same period, 100 cases of children under 12 in a tough message to youth gangs led by Releby, one Ottawa youth-court judge ordered teenagers in a hallway into his courtroom to hear him increase the usual two-month sentence for assault to 12 and 18 months in violent robbery for a 15-year-old charged with stealing another teenager's baseball cap.

The authorities in Ottawa are fighting back in other ways. Working closely with four Ottawa school boards, the Ottawa police last September set up a 21-member unit to concentrate on breaking up gangs involving students. Eight officers regularly conduct bag-profile patrols in and around Ottawa's 34 public high schools and 343 elementary schools. Daniel Whelan, head of the social sciences branch of the Ottawa Board of Education, said that the presence of police is intended to reassure students as well as deter crime. Added Whelan: "If you lose the sense of security in schools, you're lost the last bastion of safety for children."

Witness: Despite the attack on juvenile crime, police officers themselves are sometimes victims. In April an officer was injured on a shopping mall and had his right ankle stolen. Another suffered back injuries when young people in a parking lot attacked him with a piece of pipe. And while the rates of teenage crime in Ottawa still remain below that of larger urban centres such as Toronto and Vancouver, authorities in Ottawa said that they are alarmed by the growing violence of teenage crimes.

Shoppers in the lower concourse of the Robson Centre watched in horror Feb. 5 as a group of about 20 teenagers wearing heavy black hoods and leather jackets engaged in a steadily unraveled brawl with a group of dark-skinned teenagers. Other young people are turning to highly organized forms of theft. Police said that an attempted robbery of a downtown store in February involved youths carrying cellular telephones, Coast-to-Coast Dairies, who specialize in gang-related crimes, recently uncovered evidence of a gang of teenagers who thieves, he said, engaged in training exercises aimed at avoiding police surveillance. Said Dandoy: "Some of these kids can steal a car in 20 seconds. They steal four or five cars at a time and steal them in different parts of the city so they can use them if they're chased by cops."

Some observers contend that the incidence of crime involving teenagers has not risen as dramatically as police portray. Walter De Koven, a Canadian University sociologist, argues that most teenage offenses in the past would have been classified as mischief rather than as crimes. And he says that the present crackdown by Ottawa schools and the police department on teenage criminals may be part of a strategy designed to support demands for increased funding in a time of budget restraint. Said De Koven, who has studied the school-based movement in the United States: "I am not trivializing the extent of the problem, but teen crime is not new."

But the extent and seriousness of a clearly new wave of crime in the city is the issue at hand, says De Koven. "If the situation is as bad as it is, we're not going to get out of this school year without a drive-by shooting." That is a chilling assessment. But in the urban capital, it is a warning that schools, parents and teenagers cannot afford to ignore.

E. KAYE FULTON with JERRY FRIMMER in Ottawa

DEADLY RECKONINGS

DEATH-PENALTY OPPONENTS FIND NO ONE TO CARRY THEIR CAUSE IN A LAW-AND-ORDER POLITICAL YEAR

But for his Canadian citizenship, Texas convict Joseph Steven Frazier would probably be a dead man today. In one of the bizarre twists of death-row politics in the United States, Frazier, 34, an African condemned to die in 1997 for the murder of a wealthy 75-year-old Texas widow, was granted a 90-day stay of execution last week. The reprieve went legislative: Ottawa sent a strongly worded diplomatic note to Texas Gov. Ann Richards, arguing that American authorities had violated the 1963 Vienna Convention on Consular Services by not allowing Frazier of his right to consult with Canadian consular officials after his arrest. As well, his lawyers argued that the Texas state courts had not examined family medical records showing that Frazier had suffered serious brain damage when he was three years old. But opponents of the death penalty say that whatever cost Ottawa's last-ditch legal challenges (also and he is killed by lethal injection, the Albernaz has already become another piece in a cruel game, where the odds are stacked against blacks, the poor and the uneducated.

Last week, an Frazier reprieve, 344 other men, on death row in Texas, his fellow inmate at the Houston prison, Justice May, 46, became

another grim statistic. May was the 12th person put to death in the United States this year, and the 771st since a 1976 Supreme Court decision outlawed a number of the death penalty after a five-year hiatus. Less than 24 hours after May received the fatal injection, Steven Douglas Hall, 25, was executed in Yemur, Ark., after he was found guilty by Gov. William Clinton, the Democratic presidential front-runner. Among the 2,536 death-row inmates awaiting execution by firing squad, electrocution, hanging, the gas chamber or lethal injection are two other Canadians: Ronald Smith, 34, who conspired in the 1982 in Montreal, and Patrick Jeffrey, 57, who was convicted of a 1983 double murder in Washington state.

Capital punishment is not likely to become an issue in the 1998 presidential election. Opponents and advocates agree that support for the death penalty has become a litmus test for whether a politician is with or against crime. Because the vast majority of Americans—89 per cent in recent opinion polls—favor capital punishment, there is no political advantage to opposing it. Said Steven Bright, director of the Atlanta-based Southern Center for Human Rights, "Politicians have jumped on the death penalty as the easiest box that shows them to be tough on crime." With the subject relegated to the fringe of American politics, opposition to capital punishment is caught in a small core of organized activists, like those who conspired a year ago in California's San Quentin prison to force to vote on the death penalty.

Robert Alton Harris, from a guilty lifetime death sentence in the gas chamber, the death penalty is a group that includes religious, human and civil rights activists, have issued upon the gruesome nature of executions, demanding there as being acts of primal vengeance by the state. And they continue to claim that the death penalty does not deter

violent crime, pointing out that in the United States in 1990, 79,438 people were slain; a murder rate of 9.4 per 100,000 people. At the same time in Canada—where, although the death penalty remained in effect until 1976, no one has been executed in 30 years—584 people were killed, or 2.2 per 100,000 people. That is fewer than the number of murders each year in many major American cities.

Instead of deterrence, argues Michael Krul, director of the Washington-based Death Penalty Information Center, the American debate revolves around retribution. "They took a life, they give a life," Krul said of violent criminals and the public's hardened attitude towards them. He and other death-penalty opponents insist that it reflects an anguished desire to find in the psychology of American culture. Said Henry Schwabach, director emeritus of the American Civil Liberties Union's Capital Punishment Project, "There is a much wider culture in the culture. It is the Wild West mentality."

That thinking is reflected in much of the current American debate over capital punishment. Unlike the experienced 58-hour debate in Canada in 1976, where politicians struggled with the moral implications of ending the hangings, tearing down the gallows and giving first-degree murderers for the rest of the debate is the



Montevideo execution chamber: barbaric acts of primal vengeance

United States has focused on perfecting the art of execution. Public executions in the United States went common during the 19th century and continued as late as 1935 in Kentucky, when a hanging drew a crowd of 20,000. In the past 20 years, opponents of capital punishment argue, executions have become highly ritualized. "There has been a push to develop a means of execution that is sterile, quiet and visually palatable for the witnesses," said Leigh Degross, executive director of the Washington-based National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty. She added that lethal injection, used by 23 states, has been marketed to the public as a gentle method to "put people to sleep."

Deagross says that deterring the criminal in lethal-injection deaths and allowing him a symbolic last meal, which often includes a shot of whiskey, completes the "ritual." But unlike a lethal injection, where an offender was made to die to change sentencing, she says that "letting chances" with execution.

Opponents argue that even without capital punishment is a placebo and does not address the root causes of violent crime in America. Nearly 20 years after the Supreme Court ruled the death penalty to be unconstitutional nearly

due to racial discrimination, they say that capital punishment still reflects the worst parts of the police system, racism, unfair treatment of the poor and socially unstable, and inadequate legal defense. "White lives are valued more than black despite the civil rights movement and the abolition of slavery," said Degross.

In Jasper, Ark., Frazier's mother, Patricia Nichol, 60, says that she is outraged by her brother's treatment at the hands of the American criminal justice system. Nichol said that she was never given a chance to help her son at his trial by producing compelling medical evidence about his state of mind. "He suffered serious brain damage when he was three years old of a car that caused him to black out his periods," Nichol said. Mother's Step added: "Certainly, he was malnourished. It was Texas justice. He is an intelligent man who suffers mental blackouts." Medical evidence, and a legal technicality, may save the Canadian's life. But two more Texas inmates than executed this week—a stark reminder that America's thirst for vengeance has not been satisfied.

HILARY MACKENZIE in Washington with **JANE HOSSE** in Calgary

World Notes

BATTLES IN BOSNIA

Amid a fresh outbreak of violence in the newly independent country of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the tiny Marnak Gumburci, announced that the situation there was becoming a period of deployment of UN peacekeepers. Muslims and Croats at Bosnia support independence from Yugoslavia, while the majority Serbs oppose it.

ISRAEL TAKES TOUGH

Israeli officials said that the Jewish state was unlikely to attend Middle East peace negotiations as a refugee state work in Ottawa. Israel has objected to the planned participation in the talks of Palestinian from outside the accepted West Bank and Gaza Strip.

A FLOATING RUBLE

The Russian government announced that a will keep artificially inflated foreign exchange rates for the ruble and make the market fully convertible with countries abroad by August. The decision is widely seen as a key step to leading Russia into the world economy after decades of isolation.

LIVEST IN THAILAND

Tens of thousands of protesters in Bangkok demanded the resignation of Thailand's elected Prime Minister Gen. Chuan Leekpai, a former army chief who led a 1991 coup that ousted the democratic government. Soldiers were reported to have opened fire on a column of 500 pro-military parties.

A NEW MAN FOR OTTAWA

President George Bush nominated his longtime friend and former group secretary, Peter Dinklage, a former army chief who led a 1991 coup that ousted the democratic government. Soldiers were reported to have opened fire on a column of 500 pro-military parties.

GOWING BACK TO WORK

Germans for Germany's 2.3 million public employees accepted a 5.4-percentage pay increase to a new contract, ending a later 11-day strike that grounded air traffic and halted many services, including garbage collection.

ANOTHER SOVIET DOMINO

Moscow opposes gains in Tajikistan overthrown President Rakhmon Nabiyev, a extreme Communist leader, and formed a revolutionary council to run the Central Asian state. Tajikistan, which borders China and Afghanistan, accepted as an independent country when the Soviet Union collapsed last year.

Continued on page 30

TAKING LIFE
Illustration by
the 12/11/97
edition
Since 1977

Gas chamber 6
Firing squad 1

THE UNITED STATES

The outsider's pitch

H. Ross Perot wants to be president

I have become the defining anecdote of the unlikely presidential shift movement in American history—the story of one individual's on-again off-again determination in the face of government: boot-flogging and personal derision. And Texas, dirt-poor, tyrannical, ill-fated Perot has not hesitated to recount the saga that has made him the hero of a best-selling book, a television man-of-war and a popular mythology that now seems on the verge of launching him to the next quarter and, tentatively funded third-party campaign in electoral history. In fact, since that second night, dismissing a spate of media criticism as "scholarship stuff," Perot remained about his most spectacular exploit: the rescue of two former employees from a Texas prison 13 years ago. "When you're out your life in the line, when you're walking down the streets of Texas and everybody is saying on loudspeakers, 'We're going to cut off the heads of the Americans,'" he said, "your flagpole twigs."

But the many elements of Perot's past, not everyone shares the state perceptions of that event. In December, 1978, during the collapse of the Bush of Iran's regime, two employees of Perot's Dallas-based corporation, Electronic Data Systems Inc., were imprisoned. Denouncing their \$12 million debt as ransom, Perot called the U.S. state department's attention. Then, receiving former Governor Brent Cobb (R-Ind) Simon and a team of Vietnam veterans in his employ, he flew to Tehran to negotiate the city for a planned paramilitary raid later immortalized in Ron Powers' *On Wings of Eagles*. But the raid was not carried out. And Kenneth Taylor, the former Canadian ambassador who later spent an American Embassy officials out of Iran, told *Newsweek* last week that the February, 1979, release of Perot's men had nothing to do with their hosts' leverage. "It was one of those opportunistic Iranian initiatives that were happening at the time," Taylor recalled. "The prison doors magically opened for many reasons—outgoing to do with Ross Perot or the U.S. Embassy."

Not does Taylor remember the rescue as a dagger that Perot knew as innocent. "I don't know what part of prison release he took," he said. "But my feeling was that, at that point, people were moving around twice rather freely. I mean, I was still playing ball."

Taylor's recollections represent the most common misconception in a considerable presidential campaign—30 million people by self-styled political outsiders who have spent much of the past two decades performing secret studies for friends in the White House. But even

the growing controversy surrounding Perot's history has failed to stop a potential grassroots candidacy that has emerged as the latest antipolitical phenomenon in an unpredictable political arena. Ever since the 60-year-old computer billionaire moved, during a February interview on the Cable News Network, that he might consider running as an independent if supporters collected enough signatures to win him a place on the ballot in all 50 states, he has become the repository of a grassroots of voter frustration with the candidates of both major parties.

Now, playing up to \$100 million of his own money to vanquish the gridlock of government-as-usual, Perot transformed in a mass of action who can participate into the political fray to rescue the beleaguered American dream. And last week, as he announced that he was cutting back on his recent media blitz to concentrate on fundraising a detailed plan, four, political analysts doubted that he would directly jump into the race next month. In fact, a *Los Angeles Times* columnist has a dead heat with both President George Bush and prospective Democratic nominee William Clinton, giving each approximately one-third of the race.

From Florida to California, thousands of people Perot calls "the owners of this country" have rallied to his cause. One of them is Joan Vassio, a retired public relations consultant in Maryland, who first met Perot in 1969 after her pilot husband had been shot down over Vietnam. Three years, in part of his first-year campaign on behalf of U.S. prisoners of the Vietnam War, Perot argued a plausible case for funds to fly to Perot to lobby the North Vietnamese. At the time, Vassio recalled, "The government didn't want us to say anything about the war." It was, she said, that she said Perot to be "a man with a tremendous ability to conceptualize and get things done quickly."

Now, Vassio is returning the favor. Working as Perot's campaign coordinator in her state, she predicts that by June she will have amassed 125,000 signatures—nearly twice the 63,149 names required to put him on Maryland's ballot. Said Vassio: "People are knocking down our door."

Last week, Perot claimed that Bush was so worried about his third-party candidacy that top Republican officials had mounted a dirty-trick campaign against him—a charge that

A decade later, Perot was also the private, covert sponsor of choice to Ronald Reagan's White House. During the distinctive arena days later exposed in the Iran-contra affair, then-National Security Council aide Oliver North reportedly called in Bush to finance off-the-shelf operations—including getting up \$500,000 overnight in an abortive attempt to rescue Brig-Gen James Dozier from leftist Red Brigade kidnappers in Laos. But Perot has also been leading Democrats, among

political aide helps to explain Perot's current stance in its indictment—as well as the debate around political analysts over which party his candidacy could most hurt. His bipartisan approach may be the result of his upbringing in Tennessee, which straddles the Tennessee-Kentucky border, where his father was a storehouse trader and his mother a devoted do-gooder who insisted on feeding Depression-era babies. A graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy, Perot still betrays his education for the military

as a crack computer salesman at 200, where the company had just put a cap on its commissions. With \$1,000 saved from the teaching salary of his wife, Margie, he founded Electronic Data Systems (EDS), marketing computer programs and know-how rather than hardware. So successful did his concept prove that he was government Medicare contracts—earning the title "millionaire billionaire." Two decades later, he sold the company to General Motors Corp. for \$5.5 billion and joined the automotive giant's board of directors.

But Perot's much-publicized clashes with GM chairman Roger Smith, and his unorthodox, autocratic management style, have prompted political analysts to predict that he could overtake the company's market of enormous required to govern the nation. At 400, he maintained a strict dress code of dark suits and no facial hair that he termed "corporate cut-offs." "And he wanted that employees would be fired if caught sleeping from mental fatigue. Although he caught anyone about loyalty with a generous system of financial rewards, some longtime Bush-worshippers claim that he would bring that Big Brother-like philosophy to the White House.

In fact, addressing the American Newspaper Publishers Association in New York City last week in his own state-dick suit, while short and freckled, Perot's lobby and his second sponsors failed to hide the fact that he has marshaled the most sophisticated high-tech weaponry to short-circuit the usual political process for his so-called people's campaign. His toll-free 800 number has received so many calls—over 400 in one minute, he said—that Perot claims that it once threatened to disrupt the entire U.S. phone system. Regarding each call, he has built an unprecedented computerized routing line. He also admitted to tapping into video monitors by wiretapping on sensitive areas. "I am claiming that I am much more efficient than showing up in person as the flesh, Sam Perot. 'I'll go, it gets disruptive.'"

If elected in November, he talks of doing as well as around Congress and the media by holding electronic town meetings directly with the nation's citizenry. And despite his much-publicized disdain for "academy politics," Perot has already become so adept at media interviews that last week he offered helpfully to Alleviate the President's Tom Sawyer. "I'll soundbite at his side."

With those formidable electronic skills and a quirky charisma, neither Democrats nor Republicans are underestimating the appeal of the action-oriented antipolitical man who once inspired his 600 employees to celebrate the company's 10th anniversary by having him spin a cup of smog and leading him onto white horses. Still, as Perot prepares to ride into the political fray next month, voters will have to decide whether he is the long-awaited white knight of a leadership political arena, or the cold-eyed cat who has threatened America's democratic institutions.

MARCI McDONALD in Washington



Perot is his Dallas office: the white knight of a leadership political arena

then Senate finance committee chairman Lloyd Bentsen. And one of his most famous moves into public service was under Texas Democratic Gov. Mark White in the early 1980s. Putting both his personal prestige and \$2 million on the line, Perot spearheaded a 1983 educational reform drive that availed teaching the state's powerful lobby of high school football coaches to teach through a union, co-pay rules for young athletes.

He longtime Britton on both sides of the

back-seat in the several-still hearing with he carries his own debt-free frame. And supporters do not doubt his claim that his chief literary influence remains the Boy Scouts' handbook.

But it was another literary influence, transcendental philosopher Henry David Thoreau, who provided Perot with the path of self-reliance. In 1982, having read in *Reader's Digest* Thoreau's pungent that most men "lead lives of quiet desperation," he quit his job

PHOTO BY AP/WIDEWORLD



A container train arrives at Canary Wharf; the Reichmanns offer shares, but no control over the development

BUSINESS

INSIDE THE TENT

I was an optimist that the secretive Reichmann brothers rarely entertained, even as a last resort. For more than three decades, Fred, Albert and Ralph Reichmann operated their Toronto-based business empire as private family affairs, viewed cautiously by themselves and their wives. But last week, the three brothers submitted representations of 15 banks to the exact terms of their Canary Wharf project in London's Docklands and code word amounted to their hidden yet to arrive off possible financial collapse. In return for a five-year freeze on repaying their \$14.3-billion debt, the Reichmanns offered the banks a share of their troubled holding company, Olympia & York Developments Ltd. OYD's new president, Gerald Greenwald, called it a milestone in the company's history. "After decades of total private family ownership," he said, "the company is coming as leaders to join hands as partners in the business."

But what Greenwald described as an invitation could well be OYD's last chance to survive at bankruptcy. All week, the company's financial counterparties, including the federal and Ontario governments officially refused to offer any bailout. Then, the company defaulted on a \$171-

THE SECRETIVE REICHMANNS OPEN THEIR PRIVATE HOLDINGS TO THE SCRUTINY OF THEIR BANKERS

million interest payment on one of its bond issues—an event that could result in creditors seizing its landmark First Canadian Place office tower in downtown Toronto as early as this week. Finally, OYD announced that it will file a \$150-million loan when it completes the sale of its 18-per-cent stake in railway and real estate conglomerate Santa Fe Pacific Corp. at Chicago in an effort to raise cash to service its debts. At week's end, the \$7-billion Canary Wharf project, the jewel in OYD's crown, was being kept alive only by international cash

advances from the banks—which loaned the project \$44 million to keep going for another three weeks. At the same time, added pressure from the financial community suggested that the 15 banks that are considering OYD's latest restructuring proposal were likely to demand substantial additional concessions during discussions, which company officials said would likely finish by late next week.

Meanwhile, the Reichmanns' continued struggle led Canadian analysts to focus attention on some of the country's other prominent family fortunes. Speaking to *Maclean's* last week, several business experts drew parallels between the highly personal management style that may have contributed to OYD's present difficulties and the secretive direction of some other closely held Canadian business empires (page 42). At the same time, hints in more than a dozen British financial institutions confirmed the events of accepting part ownership of a place of local corporations, Canada's institutional investors looked their role in the management of a growing number of other corporations that have also sought solutions of their cash loans (page 42).

If the banks eventually accept it, however,

OYD's proposal would be the world's biggest-ever corporate restructuring plan. And even the success of its delivery to the banks underscored how much the company's financial problems had already forced the Reichmanns to relinquish personal control of their privately controlled private holding. Apparently, it was accepted in the letter of the 100-bank Canary Wharf loan—a signal back at the Reichmanns' far-reaching vision of building a new business district in the once-dormant docklands of London's East End, and of their massive miscalculation of the world real-estate market. More than anything else, the worldwide recession and the collapse of real-estate prices in the project was reaching completion loomed off OYD's current crisis.

Under OYD's complex plan, the company would not repay the principal on most of the \$14.3 billion it owes to its creditors for five years. It would also suspend interest payments on about \$5 billion of this debt. At the same time, Miller and Greenwald called the banks for another \$500 million to complete the first phase of Canary Wharf itself, in the form of new bank loans. According to Greenwald, that arrangement was the best way both to ensure OYD's survival and to force the banks to consider the company's long-term prospects rather than bargaining on its immediate crisis. "Neither the company nor the lenders can wait without the other," he said.

To provide "comfort" for its creditors during the restructuring process, OYD proposed giving its two principal holding companies with a stake in the bank's \$14.3 billion shares to Santa Fe Pacific Corp., a railway and mining company, for about \$500 million for its 1988 dividend, OYD confirmed that it also plans to sell its share of linear De Loo, of Calgary, worth about \$500 million at current prices.

Unless part of the proceeds from these sales go to Canadian bondholders who are owed \$17 million, OYD loses the strong possibility that they may come as early as May 11 to ease the strain that backs the bonds. The 75-story First Canadian Place, the company's new office tower in Toronto established the Reichmanns' reputation as money builders. But like Canary Wharf, it may come under the scrutiny of the bank of one of the most ambitious commercial projects of the age.

pay that they built over the world's biggest real estate developer over the past 35 years. Under their plan, OYD would have the right to buy back the shares it issued to the banks within seven years at an agreed-on price. The Reichmanns were letting that the end of the economic and to option to property values will return OYD to profitability well before then—and allow them to regain control of their empire. But Greenwald: "We are absolutely confident that over a nine figure of five years, the business cycle will recover."

In fact, the Reichmanns' reluctance to maintain full control of OYD may be a deal breaker. Several bankers expressed skepticism about a plan that allows the Reichmanns to continue running their empire even offering creditors a seat on its board of directors. Rejected one incorporated creditor, who asked to remain anonymous. "It's a complete joke. Even now, they don't seem to understand that there just isn't a lot of confidence in their ability to manage this firm." Although banks usually co-operate when financially strapped companies seek to convert debt into equity, he added, the Reichmanns are not moving shares in a private company for which no value or liquidity have been established.

In fact, OYD's proposal continues plans to raise new money by selling off assets of its non-real-estate holdings. That process continued last week when the company announced that it had sold its stake in Santa Fe Pacific Corp., a railway and mining company, for about \$500 million for its 1988 dividend, OYD confirmed that it also plans to sell its share of linear De Loo, of Calgary, worth about \$500 million at current prices.

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Greenwald: 'partners'



ALYSON PHILLIPS in London with GERRARD McINTOSH in Toronto

Business Notes

THE HIDDEN JOB TRACK

Statistics Canada reported that the nation's unemployment rate dipped slightly in April, to 11.9 per cent from 12.1 per cent in March. The agency added that while 57,000 fewer people were working in April than in March, the unemployment rate dropped because 71,000 discouraged workers left the labor force.

A VICTORY FOR THE PET

Ontario stock promoter Murray Peim, 71, accused a host of changes and declared that "justice has been served" after the B.C. Court of Appeal overturned a two-year stock-trading ban imposed on him by the U.S. Securities Commission. The commission had ruled that Peim and two associates had improperly traded stock in two issuing companies that were exploring the B.C. Court of Appeal's decision. Peim's Canadian law firm, before these decisions, publicly declared further results.

LOSING ALTITUDE

Outfront radio men are taking a heavy toll on the radio. The station's largest station reported a record quarterly loss of \$254 million on revenues of \$827 million for the first three months of 1992. \$94 million more than it lost in the same quarter last year.

BAYON GOES IT ALONE

Toronto-based Film Broadcasting Inc. bought the Canadian rights to seven hours a week of top-rated U.S. television shows, including *Baywatch* and *Baywatch: Hawaii*. The company also bought the U.S. rights to the show of the troubled city network broke up. Bayon which owns 11 of CTV's 26 stations, a 50-per-cent owned by the Bayon family and a mix of right partners in the network.

AN UNLucky ORDER

The CRTC ordered four unlicensed religious television stations in Alberta and Saskatchewan to shut down within 18 days. The stations, located in Edmonton, Lethbridge and Grande Prairie in Alberta and Lloydminster, Sask., have been broadcasting the signal of a U.S. Christian satellite channel, the Trinity Broadcasting Network. Regulators say that the stations have refused to provide a variety of kinds of news in their programming.

MG (RED, WHITE AND) BLUE

Grant BM Corp. of Montreal, N.Y., announced that it will take over responsibility for the sales service and marketing in Canada from its subsidiary, The Canada Ltd. of Montreal, Que.

Family misfortunes

Canada's business dynasties face uncertainty

On a crisp morning in September, 1987, 11 members of Wescorp's Richardson family gathered in the rustic comfort of the Muskoka Lodge resort near Kenora, Ont. All cousins, the 11 were well acquainted; they had shared Christmas dinners and cottage vacations throughout their lives. But the Muskoka evening was different—the family members

Olympic & York Developments Ltd. (OYD), is a partnership of three brothers—Albert, Paul and Ralph—in Paul whose dominant personality and corporate vision led the company to undertake increasingly ambitious projects and ever greater debts. From the outset, close observers of the family say, it was Paul who pushed ahead with the project that now threat-

ensses. Like many other private companies, OYD issued no shares for public sale, relying for working capital on bank loans and loans of credit extended. Eventually, the family business ran up debts totalling \$14.5 billion that, by earlier this year, exceeded the Richardson's ability to repay. Their difficulties have now cast a chill over other family-owned enterprises. Said Timothy Magarsh, vice-president of the family-owned retail petroleum business Proserve Group Inc. of Burlington, Ont., and a director of the 600-member Canadian Association of Family Enterprise: "It's always more difficult to raise money if you are a private company, and the credit at OYD have made it much worse. The banks have become much more squeamish about family business now OYD."



Timothy Magarsh and brother Geoffrey (right). It's more difficult if you are private.

ens to triple OYD's \$1.5-billion Casey Wharf development in London, Ontario, causing office vacancy rates in the Bank of Montreal, he perpetuated the project forward, levelling attention on the most visible construction details, even selecting the marble for its walls. Sources close to the company blame the same insensitively head-on management style for the loss of highly regarded former banker brother John, who lost three weeks after he was forced to close OYD through its debt restructuring.

Indeed, even under increasingly grave financial pressures, the Richardsons have stubbornly refused to cede control over their troubled empire. That was evident last week, when sources noted that there still to convert bank debt into revolving equity as OYD would have left creditors without a voice in the company's affairs—and the family in full control of the company's destiny.

The Richardsons' troubles are of more than academic interest to other family-owned busi-

nesses. At the same time, many other family businesses suffer from the same overconfidence as the Richardsons to claim an exaggerated authority with outsiders. In extreme cases, noted Thau, "It can be completely devastating for qualified managers to report to family members who couldn't get an entry-level job outside the nest." By contrast, some of the most successful corporate families, like the Milsons of Montreal, have relied heavily upon the consent of non-family managers for generations. For his part, Roydon Richardsons acknowledges that it is "inevitable to taper" with outside managers, but he insists that bringing them in involves learning to "suppress your ego."

Even the presence of outside managers is no guarantee that turbulent families will be kept in check. In one case, hotel executive Dean MacMaster of the Canadian Tire Corp. for almost 30 years before the takeover of the three-hotel family-owned Alderik (A-11) Hotel disrupted the company's operations and embroiled it in a

What airlines are doing for travelers up there,
we're doing for travelers down here.

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When you can plan ahead on vacation or business, plan on getting special savings. This offer is good Sunday through Thursday, based upon rates published. Simply make your reservations, inspect days in advance and we'll take care of the rest.

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We've made it easier to get away for a few days. The savings are yours on Friday or Saturday night. It's also based upon availability. Let us show you the value of a weekend weekend.

	Domestic Adult Rates	Domestic Children Rates	Domestic 14 Day Advance Rates	Domestic Weekend Rates
Key West				
Single/Double	\$75.00	\$12.00	\$71.00	\$15.00
Triple/Quadruple	\$75.00	\$12.00	\$71.00	\$15.00
San Diego				
Single/Double	\$75.00	\$12.00	\$71.00	\$15.00
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holder struggle over corporate control.

Even when such battles erupt over a company's surplus, their outcome can still be excessive—and detrimental to other investors. Minority shareholders sued just that complaint against Toronto's Bellco during their squabbling over control of Canadian Tire—a grievance that the Ontario Securities Commission later upheld. The strength of minority shareholders is often restricted by the use of anti-takeover share structures, designed to allow the founding family to retain control over a corporation during the issue of public shares. Mated William Chabot, an analyst with the Toronto brokerage firm Lowrey, Oudette, McCauley & Co. Ltd.: "You have to assess your degree of comfort with a controlling family on an individual basis."

Such an assessment can be greatly complicated where there is no clearly identified and plainly competent successor poised to take over the reins of the enterprise. In the case of Peter Brownstein's McCain Foods food empire, a recent split of it health on the part of co-founder Harrison McGee, 64, sparked intense speculation about who might replace him.

While the future of one generation to rule its succession plan may pitch on a knife's edge, the same thing can happen when control over a company is divided on an equal basis to several offspring. In the past decade, bitter fights about family fortunes have erupted over such well-known commercial names as Woodward's, Stenberg's and Reiko, in addition to Canada's Tins.

But even carefully laid succession plans, in which a single heir is identified, may descend the unexpected of a business. Although Percy and Edward Broadbent agreed that Peter's son, Bruce, should succeed them at the helm of their Toronto-based empire, there were complications. In order to ensure that Edward's three children would be able to extract their share of the wealth, the brothers were obliged to create a new company, which effectively split Edward's private stake in the report to the public and complicated its already labyrinthine corporate structure.

Even when subsequent generations decide unilaterally to control a business, they sometimes find that their attention is not what they expected. The most vocal personalities that corporate empires may also bring them close to ruin. Although Stephen Roman, founder and sole owner of Roman Corp. Ltd. of Toronto, wanted his daughter Helen Roman-Blauber to succeed him, the holding company was already tottering before his death in



Philip Reichmann: active in the family business

1984. Since Roman-Blauber took the helm, the family's fortunes have expanded as its assets have plunged into modernity. The family has a 45-per-cent stake in the company, but the value of a Roman Corp. share has dropped from \$12 in 1988 to \$1.60 at week's end.

Some founders of fortunes have attempted

to prevent intra-family power struggles after their death or retirement by consigning their children and other heirs to a sphere of operations. That is the approach taken at Power Corp. of Montreal, where founder Paul Desmarais has groomed his two sons to enter the business. When André, 35, concentrates on the company's industrial operations, his other brother, Paul Jr., 37, is more involved in the financial side of the business. New Brunswick magazine Kenneth Irving followed a similar pattern, giving one of his three sons control of the family oil business, another its forest interests and a third its media holdings. The brothers Gale and Garry Weston received responsibility for different parts of the international food and grocery company founded by their grandfather, George Weston.

For his part, philosopher Vancouver entrepreneur James Pattison says that he has a simple plan to avoid succession struggles among his three children: Pattison insists that he be in a position to exclude his children from his diversified \$3-billion industrial empire—and his will.

That approach was the approval of Thane, at least. The business professor is among several critics who doubt that any family-controlled company is equipped to survive the competitive demands of an increasingly global economy. International business, says Thane, demands "critical mass, management and finance, at a level above the grasp of one family unit." According to Thane, the practice of handing large corporations over to what he dismissively calls "birth accidents," rather than to professional managers, "has had tremendously negative effects on the Canadian economy."

As for the Reichmanns, however, many analyses say the brothers' diversification of their empire away from real estate during the 1980s as an attempt to raise the succession for some of their 14 children into the family business. After Reichmann's son Philip and Paul's son-in-law, Frank Hertz, have already been named together in one of the real estate divisions, when they are actively involved in buying corporations and other businesses. But Philip's brother, David, is involved with the Reichmanns' pulp and paper company, Alberta-Prince Inc. of Toronto.

As their fathers struggle to grasp up the family riches of one's business, however, many of the younger Reichmanns now have to concern themselves with just how much of the family wealth will be left for them to inherit—worth or without a battle.

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Have money—want power

Cash-rich investors demand a larger role

The recession has stifled growth in many areas, but at the Ontario Municipal Employees Retirement System the money just keeps rolling in. Every day of the week, weekends and holidays included, checks amount \$3.5 million on behalf of the 340,000 Ontario fire and police officials and other municipal workers who are members of the pension plan. In 1992 alone, the organization will take in an impressive \$1.5 billion, which it will use to buy stocks, bonds and real estate—mainly in Canada. "We are growing faster than the listings on the country's stock exchanges," said James Musander, the organization's vice-president of investment management and administration. He adds, "We have assets of \$11.7 billion today, but by 1995 we expect that to almost double to \$25 billion." And while the fund's investment managers worry about where to stash that much cash, Musander is considering an even more serious problem: how to get—and other big institutional investors—should behave as owners of its ever-growing share of Canadian businesses.

The issue is increasingly pressing in the face of the troubles besetting the family dynasty that said now have diminished corporate Canada. Some of these dynasties—the Rockfellers are the most current example—are being forced to sell off assets to pay down debts incurred in the frenzied 1980s, others are struggling to survive recent or imminent transfers of power to younger generations. In either case, many are looking to enrich institutional investors, and particularly in Canada's largest pension funds, to buy their assets. As a result, organizations like OMERS are joined to become, collectively, the new owners of corporate Canada. The change is historic. Until now, most institutional investors have played no passive role in corporate affairs that may have not even interested their right to raise in company meetings. In the future, however, the few hundred professional money managers who exert the lion's share of dollars held in savings on behalf of individual Canadians are poised to determine the course of some of the country's largest and most important companies.

At the root of the change is money: cash-rich pension funds have as much of it, in fact, that they can hardly wait the responsibilities of ownership. The assets of the institutional investors, which include insurance companies, mutual funds and firms that manage money on behalf of wealthy individuals, as well as pension funds, are growing rapidly. Private fund assets increased by an average annual rate of 17 per cent during the last decade.

The new interest in their role as owners echoes a similar revolution in the United States. The consequences for the American economy, however, are likely to be less drastic than in Canada. That is because corporate ownership in that country is already far less concentrated among individuals and families than in Canada.

Still, some big U.S. institutions are aggressively demanding much more influence over how the companies they own are run. In one case in Munich, the California Public Employees Retirement System helped spark an ownership revolt by the usually docile board of directors of the biggest company in the world, General Motors Corp. Once dismissed by Texas influences and fierce the director Ray Whitson as no money "pet rocks," the state's non-management directors succeeded in forcing management to accept several changes—including the dissolution of the company's chairman and the installation of a new president.

But John Poir, a corporate adviser in Toronto, "I find it amazing that the problem is far more acute in Canada, but they talk about it much more in the United States."

The debate is catching on in Canada, too. And even though few pension fund managers agree just how active their role as owners can get, they do agree on one thing: they dislike multiple voting shares, which give extra votes

to special insider groups of shareholders. Frequently, these are so-called poison pills—corporate strategies that involve issuing management by effectively prohibiting takeover.

More importantly, Canadian fund managers are increasingly focusing their attention on boards of directors. Company boards of directors are supposed to represent the interests of shareholders, but in practice they are often hijacked by management to provide legal support. Says Robert Bertram, senior vice-president of investments at the Ontario Teachers' Pension Plan Board: "We realize that these are going to be issues which we will have to take a more active interest in the management of some of the companies we own." One way to do that is to demand that corporate boards take a more active role in keeping management on a leash.

Some Canadian fund managers are wary of aggressive confrontations between management and shareholders. "The big problem with the American style of corporate governance is a very simple money manager are trained to manage money," said Peter de la Rue, director of the Ontario Hydro pension fund. "They are not trained to manage a company." If fund managers have already demonstrated their own limitations by being silent in companies that perform badly, he added, they have little reason to believe that they will do any better at providing management advice. Dr. de la Rue said that many managers who are not satisfied with a company's results always have an option: they can sell the shares.

But others take a different approach. Some fund managers say that they have been too big to register disaffection with an investment by selling their shares. Declared Michel Nadeau, senior vice-president of equity and financing at the country's largest institutional investor, the Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec as Montreal: "If the management of a company cannot hold its mandate or meet its objectives, the board should be in a position to bring about changes that will monitor the competitiveness of a company."

To that end, the Pension Investment Association of Canada, which is made up of about 300 pension fund managers, is debating ways to make corporate boards act as more effective boards of management. The most controversial proposal would write into boards on the basis of their performance. For its part, Alliance Group Ltd., a Toronto stock brokerage house that caters to institutional investors by representing shareholders rights issues, has announced that it will recommend that the directors of major Canadian companies, "One of the problems with boards in Canada is that



Ontario Hydro's de la Rue pension fund managers are trained to manage money. They are not trained to manage a company.

these aren't a lot of truly independent directors," says Alliance president William Knox. "Also, decisions are made or come to management or dependent on management in some other way. They are not independent and they do not have the internal fortitude to dissent management."

More independent directors offer only one of several possible ways to improve corporate performance. The use of a board-size criterion. The average board has 10 people," says Musander, who leads the Pension Investment Association's corporate governance committee. "We think it is impossible to have an effective board of that size. Given the dynamics of meetings, the ideal board is maybe eight to 10 people." Musander argues as well that companies in which one person acts as both chairman and president should divide the two posts.

The changes that institutional investors are urging do not end here. Several pension fund managers say that boards should give the

responsibility of writing and determining rules to outside directors. Other analysts say that boards should limit on being outside contractors to advise clients on such issues. Nadeau of the Caisse, meanwhile, notes that it has been seen reinforced in the United States that boards should negotiate immediate contracts with their senior managers that could be renewed on expiry if both sides were satisfied. At the very least, says Musander, major shareholders should get closely acquainted with board members. "After all, they are supposed to represent our interests," he added, "yet we seldom talk to them face-to-face."

Except for better performance from Canadian corporations comes significance that goes well beyond the world of money managers. In the wake of a damning report last year by Harvard Business School economist Michael Porter, a growing number of executives are acknowledging that bad management may be more to

blame than unproductive workers for Canada's relatively weak competitiveness. The Caisse's Nadeau, meanwhile, says that institutional investors can contribute to corporate competitiveness by demanding better management accountability. Declared Nadeau: "To keep Canada alive to make certain that we have really competitive companies that can face international competition, institutional investors must ensure that we have very clear corporate governance rules."

In a country where habits of deference to dominant individual shareholders have long, Nadeau's objective may seem remote. But as the family dynasties that have propelled corporate Canada through much of its history look with growing anxiety for new sources of capital, the financial risk that he and other institutional investors would say already provide an inevitable argument.

RENEE DALGLISH

CANADA'S TOP 10 INSTITUTIONAL INVESTORS

(Assets as of Dec. 31, 1991, in billions)

1. Caisse de dépôt et placement du Québec	84.1
2. Ontario Teachers'	24.7
3. OMERS	14.7
4. Janszowski, Fraser & Co.	13.75
5. Ontario Public Service	6.96
6. Beutel Goodman & Co.	7.79
7. AMF Partners	7.34
8. CN Railways	7.2
9. Alberta Public Sector	6.7
10. BDI Canada	6.48

SOURCE: INVESTMENT MANAGEMENT ASSOCIATION OF CANADA



The Nine Nations of North America

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

Proposals for a North American Free Trade Agreement have never seemed so unrealistic, with the American and Mexican board to conclude a treaty by year's end—and a confused Canada tagging along behind. The pact to integrate trade worth \$200 billion makes the economic map of this continent will have to be redrawn.

At the same time, there is enough sociological shuffling going on that we may well end up as one "nation" instead of three—though the political boundaries of North America will probably remain such as they are now.

It's not a new idea.

In 1983, a *Washington Post* senior writer, Joel Garreau, published a book with the same title as this column. In it, almost polebolic prose, he noted that the people of North America were subconsciously splitting up into nine rival power blocs, with distinct regional loyalties, interests and values for the future.

"I said that dividing the continent into more comprehensible chunks helped put its peculiarities like energy, inflation, unemployment, water and economic policies into perspective," he told me during a recent interview. "This is a time when issues seem so overwhelmingly complex that ordinary people have come to try to ignore them. These problems can seem more manageable when confronted in a geographical way a person can feel comfortable with."

He added: "When I wrote the book, I thought that I was way out on a limb, that I would never be taken seriously as a journalist again. Yet, if anything, the trends I predicted have come about much faster than I could ever have imagined. We're moving away from our anomalous identity into northern Mexico, and many other things are happening that I didn't have the guts to talk about, much less write about. In some ways, I find it comforting that the continent seems to be breaking out along the lines I laid out 10 years ago."

"Forget about the borders dividing the United States, Canada and Mexico—those pale

'Dividing the continent into more comprehensible chunks helps put economic policies into perspective'

business as thoroughly porous to money, immigrants and ideas. Consider instead the two North America really exists. It's Nine Nations. Each has its capital and its distinctive web of power and influence. Each has a peculiar economy, each commands a certain emotional allegiance from its citizens. These nations look different, feel different and sound different from one another, and few of their boundaries match the political lines drawn on current maps."

These were the "nations" that emerged in Garreau's emboldened geography.

1. The Powder—described by Garreau as "the defining industrial area of the Northeast that used to view the other eight nations as subservient, tribute-paying colonies, straining off their accessible slice of population and wealth to other places as temporary aberrations, susceptible to some quick fix." As well as northern Ontario, the Powder included half a dozen U.S. states stretching from New York to Illinois.

2. New England—The New England states and the Maritime provinces, as well as Newfoundland and Labrador.

3. Dixie—Most of eastern Texas and the southern states, as well as Florida, down to Fort Myers.

4. The Shoshy—the Quebec, parts of Vermont and the Maine-Pat. Lakeside belt of southern Florida.

5. Mex America—Mexico, Arizona and New Mexico, as well as Southern California.

6. The Smoky Quarter—Most of Alaska, Northern Canada, parts of Alberta and the Rocky Mountain trench down to Denver.

7. The Breadbasket—Southern Saskatchewan and Manitoba, as well as Iowa, Nebraska, Oklahoma and northern Texas.

8. Quebec—The only chunk of territory that remained the same in reality as in Garreau's imaginary atlas.

9. Ecotopia—The thin coastal strip stretching from Alaska in the north to just south of San Francisco.

"Ecotopia views the Powder as irrelevant, even quaint," Garreau wrote. "The Pacific Northwest is developing industries of the 21st century, its natural markets and its business about 5000 are in Asia." Ten years after the book's original publication, several organizations are actively pushing to exploit the region's economic potential, including FICIL, an organized group designed to foster business in the Pacific Northwest, Western Canada and Alaska. The new emerging regional, as opposed to national, philosophy was best summed up by Jimmy Patterson, the B.C. mega-entrepreneur who recently declared, "The U.S.-Canada border is an imaginary boundary."

Garreau's most interesting current observations concern the future of Canada and Quebec. "My gut tells me," he said, "that Quebec will not separate, that out of this debate will emerge the fact that there is such a thing as a Canadian nation, and that what makes Canadians so Canadian is their admirable ability to compromise. We're about to witness yet another spectacular example of molding through that will confound everyone except those who love and respect the Canadian character."

Garreau says that "Quebec makes a lot more sense as a nation today than it did 10 years ago," and that "Canada would have great difficulty dealing with a Polarian situation, if Quebec left." Although he has trouble imagining that a Canada without Quebec would join the United States, he has his imagining for consequences. "The one remaining provocation could field a delegation to U.S. presidential nominating conventions the size of California," he speculates. "That means they could decisively influence American elections, the way Quebec now wags Canadian campaigns."

On a less serious level, he notes: "What about the Canadian soccer? The paper stuff is really cute, with all those colors. On the other hand, we could save a bundle if we no longer had to build vending machines that reject Canadian quarters."

Garreau's fictional "nations" will never take the exact shape he postulated in 1981, but his basic theme is sound. He approvingly quotes Dave Hickey, former editor of the bimonthly *Texas Observer*, about how regional loyalties really work. Says Hickey: "Home in the 20th century is less where your heart is than where you understand the ways of 'home'."

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MUSIC

Fiddling with tradition

Nigel Kennedy livens up the concert hall

To label 36-year-old British violinist Nigel Kennedy unconventional is an understatement. In the varnished and often staid world of classical music, the virtuoso's radical approach has roused more than a few eyebrows—but it has also established him as one of the world's first-class violinists. Backstage after a recent performance with the Toronto Symphony, a splash of beer in one hand and a bottle in the other, Kennedy treated everyone he met. His speech—a winking show of wit and wit—was laced with such British jargon as “vibe” and “happening.” He addressed women as “lady,” affectionately called his conductor “mommy,” and, during an interview with *Maclean's*, chatted amiably while waiting in a petrol pump.

“This,” said Kennedy, exhibiting his irreverent sense of humor, “is what you call a piss-crier!” Kennedy, son of Hugh Wolf, who conducted the symphony that evening, noted that the violinist is revered for his “big personality.” Added the American conductor: “If you have an unusual person, people may be suspicious at first. But if you’ve also got the goods, all sense of shock disappears.” It took Kennedy only a few minutes to dispel any doubt during his recent appearance at Toronto’s Roy Thomson Hall. When the violinist walked onto the stage, some audience members gasped. Amid the sea of applause, a formal evening affair stood Kennedy, dressed in a Chinese-style black jacket, black pants and shoes, a flowing multicolored scarf and wavy patterned socks. He had some body warts on the long strands of hair that fell over the shaved lower half of his head. On a pace of carpet quickly laid out for him, Kennedy stomped and shuffled his way through an exhilarating performance, his behavior more suited to a backstage than a concert hall. But by the time he had finished Bruch’s *Violin Concerto in G Minor*, he had transformed any skepticism into belief.

“He can save himself if he plays like that,” said Wolf. “Swimming in very persuasion about the way he communicates music.” Now, in Brighton, the only child of a parent, mother and a father who played solo with the Liverpool Philharmonic and the Royal Philharmonic, Kennedy started his musical career early. When he was 7, his evident talent on the violin led to his acceptance at the distinguished Yehudi Menuhin School in Surrey. There, Kennedy discovered just a love that he embraced through the Juilliard School in New York City and that led to performances with such musicians as Ben Zeta and Stephen Grappelli.

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Kennedy's break approach, which is partly influenced by his love of imported music, has been successful in dispelling some of the classical music world's unbridled distrust of British violinists. “When I was younger, I used to get people coming up and saying, ‘Hey man, you’ve got to be Jewish because you play the fiddle so well,’” said Kennedy. “And I’ve come back with answers like, ‘Well, you’ve got to be English to have that good taste!’” But, he added, “I think there’s a lot more youngsters in Britain thinking that it’s not impossible to have a solo career with a fiddle now, which is not altogether unexpected with the fact that I’m getting gigs and making records.”

With his unprecedented sales, an advance of about \$400,000 for his 1991 audiography, *Always Playing*, and his capacity to sell out concert halls all over Europe and North America, Kennedy has finally been able to reap the rewards of his success. He recently bought a house in the coastal English town of Malvern, where Elgar wrote lyrics, which he shares with his American girlfriend, rock musician Dixie Smith. And for the first time, he owns his own Volvo—a 1978 Lancia Guercio worth more than \$1 million. He plans to release only four more classical albums. Among them is a three-volume concerto, coupled with some of the works of past masters Miles Davis, Koolhaas and Barbra Streisand, a Berlioz concerto and works by his favorite violinist, Fritz Kreisler. “I’m not going to do the concerto thing anymore because I’ve done it for a long time and I think I’m doing it better than ever before,” said Kennedy. “And that’s a great time to stop.”

Despite it all, Kennedy is still occasionally plagued by criticism of his appearance. But he is unapologetic about the fact that he dresses, behaves and interprets music his way. “I should think that Fritz Kreisler had people thinking, ‘Well, that fiddle’s gone today,’” said Kennedy. “But if people are getting enjoyment out of the music, that’s really all you can ask of yourself as a performer!” To Kennedy, success is a mixture of talent and being the right person for the right time. He added, with uncharacteristic understatement: “I just maybe happen to be that fiddle.”

That it was classical music, specifically his 1984 recording of the Elgar *Violin Concerto in G Minor* with the London Philharmonic Orchestra, that set him on the road to stardom. Kennedy himself took an interest in the way Kennedy interpreted the work, which to that point, Kennedy says, “was basically well used as repertoire filler for bored violinists who

had nothing else to play.” Without marketing, the album sold about 100,000 copies—a phenomenon in the classical world, where sales of 5,000 are considered respectable. From then on, Kennedy released one or two recordings almost every year—including his unorthodox interpretation of *World’s Four Seasons*, which earned him a superstar status in 1989. After shooting in the No. 1 position in *Record’s* classical music charts, it broke into the Top 30 of the pop charts. Today, it has sold more than one million copies worldwide.

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Kennedy transforming skeptics into believers



Hughes (right) as intricate Edwardian saga of repressed class conflict

FILMS

A tragedy of manners

E. M. Forster inspires another elegant movie

HOWARDS END
Directed by James Ivory

Twenty-two years after his death, British novelist E. M. Forster (1879-1970) continues to make his presence felt. During the past decade, his fiction has inspired a new industry of handsome period movies to make his presence felt. During the past decade, his fiction has inspired a new industry of handsome period movies to make his presence felt. During the past decade, his fiction has inspired a new industry of handsome period movies to make his presence felt.

Howards End is a costume drama with intelligence and wit. From its first shot of a long drive trailing over wet grass to its final image of a fresh-mown meadow, the movie is strug-

gly faithful to Forster's novel. And although *Howards End* was first published in 1910, its intricate saga of repressed class conflict seems selflessly germane to the 1990s.

It is a tale of two families. The prosperous, patriarchal Wilsons are Philistines who place their faith in real estate and rusted beef. The cultured, art-loving Schlegels, consisting of two catnip-scented sisters and an intellectual brother, represent a humane world of artistic enlightenment. The families first connect when Helen Schlegel (Jenna Russell) falls headlong and disastrously in love with the younger of the two Wilsons, her sister Margaret (Emma Thompson), pursues a friendship with the aging Wilson matriarch, Ruth (Vivian Pickers) and as her husband, Paul (Nigel Hutton) is a successful, but cold, money-maker. Helen's love for Paul is a constant theme with intelligence and wit. From its first shot of a long drive trailing over wet grass to its final image of a fresh-mown meadow, the movie is strug-

The first of the two families interweaves when the widowed Henry Wilson (Anthony Hopkins) courts Margaret. Meanwhile, her sister, Helen, has taken a protective interest in a beleaguered clerk named Leonard Bast (Samuel West), who loses his job after following some bad advice from Henry. The ease of Leonard's seduction provides the story's central conflict—Henry balks at Helen's attempt to rescue the

young man. "The poet was poor," he declares. "One is sorry for them—and there it is." Margaret gently tries to effect a compromise.

The characters form a tidy package of the political spectrum. Henry is the sturdy conservative, Margaret the accommodating liberal and Helen the idealist social democrat. Leonard, a total dreamer, represents the sad state of the working class. The superb performances ensure that each of the characters is well-rounded.

After his Oscar triumph as a flamboyant psychopath in *The Silence of the Lambs*, Hopkins proves his range by playing a man so oppressed that he battles his face with his hand when he is upset. In the story's most sympathetic role, Thompson fills the screen with tenderness and light. And Carter, in his third *Pastor* film, skilfully navigates Helen's passage from freedom to compromise.

Director Ivory, however, has eschewed Edwardian England with such stately elegance that the characters, as well drawn as they are, seem more larger than their surroundings. The movie's lovely photographic costumes, sets and landscapes are its true stars. The camera dwells lovingly on architecture, especially *Howards End*, the sky-scraped mansion that seems to stand for England's basic past. The film, in fact, is so redolent of England that its measured style almost obscures the propriety of its characters. Circumspectly, very wet and civilized beauty, *Howards End* produces a sense of emotional detachment. But its charm, like England's, are considerable.

BRIAN D. JOHNSON

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BEST-SELLER LIST

FICTION

- 1 *Amish*, Neil
- 2 *It's a Sin to Tell Lies*, Geoffrey (1)
- 3 *All Around the Town*, Clark (2)
- 4 *Jazz*, Morrison (2)
- 5 *Burden of Desire*, Macfarlane (1)
- 6 *Knowing the Gutter's Daughter*, Randall (4)
- 7 *Glenn Felder*, Ayler
- 8 *The Poison Bird*, Graham (2)
- 9 *The Living*, Zellard
- 10 *Peace*, Morrison (4)

NONFICTION

- 1 *Widows of the Elders*, Kesteven and Smith (1)
- 2 *Revolution from Within*, Stinson (2)
- 3 *Drakes Continental*, Wright (4)
- 4 *Wife*, Armstrong (2)
- 5 *Wishful Thinking for Canadians*, Green (2)
- 6 *The Sign and the Seal*, Huxford (2)
- 7 *Peppers Report*, Peppers (2)
- 8 *Hot and Cold*, Jones
- 9 *Born for Love*, Douglas
- 10 *Revelations*, Pollock (4)

(1) Available for sale

Compiled by Brian Johnson

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Down in Dixie, worlds apart

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The great muddy swamp of the Ohio River defines Louisville, Ky., before it joins the even greater Mississippi south of St. Louis. The Ohio is the demarcation of the Mason-Dixon line, where America divided as the Civil War that still echoes in far-off Los Angeles. Louisville and Kentucky are not that far from Chicago and Detroit—Indiana being on the Ohio's other shore—but this is the start of the South.

We are in Freedom Hall, a nice white hall in a sea of black faces, come to witness at the arena, this evening, called rock 'n' roll. The glow in this huge edifice is usually basketball, dust, along with horses, being Kentucky's passion. The walls are lined with bronze plaques honoring members of the Kentucky Hall of Fame, mostly white boys who went on to professional glory.

There are no white boys up on the stage, which is approximately the size of a basketball court. It is occupied by the warm-up act, the last Motown boys by the name of The Mims. The last time this deteriorating old arena was at a rock concert, one trouble suddenly, was at B.C. Place in Vancouver when the children were young, energetic, and—memory not quite faded—what the dancing group did was mainly sing.

The dancing group was Supertramp, a favorite of the rock 'n' roll set, not distributing any one who would want to hear through speakers approximately the size of a Boeing 747. Because of respect for my ears, there ensued rock concerts ever since.

This introduction was a mistake—usually, though not usually, it seems that singing is no longer what. What we have is a mass choreography. Boys a Mims, a clutch of handsome young black men, in t-shirts, a sort-of-up of the white fly lounge skit-type—all clad in blue blazers, white shirts (strawberry ties, Bermuda shorts, white socks and off-respect sneakers). The crowd goes wild. My ears remember why I have ever returned to this type of venue.

Is there in the black nature of white professions a bit of revenge? Is the colorful meeting too much now too? An admission, it is a strat-



ting time. Ladies in fact that clings. Men in purple leather suits that nod at the knee. It is a man fan for the open time it was for the stars. This, clearly, is a moment for display, rather like the opportunity on Halloween to be outrageous. What's my career? More words can't describe the passing show.

Whoo! The sound is back, the two-beam signaling the main act. Main act is the rap superstar Hammer, formerly known as M. C. Hammer. When you become really famous, you can eat as one name alone—Matthew, Mary-lyn, Elva, Adolf. If your name is Biller John you are out of luck.

Hammer can't sing all that much since rap is mostly shouting according to the audience can't hear—because of the same—but opportunity has increased from the album. Since 40 people are on stage, all surrounded by wild professional athletes in Technicolor costumes, dancers reduced to smoke-in space capsules

clothes ripped off, sweat pouring from heavily tanned bodies. The sound—now now plugged thoughtfully with Kemos—actually resonates through the chest. Does one detect black rage underneath all the superficial, athletic, elaborate display of energy? Is a co-conspirator reading too much into that?

The following day it is the Kentucky Derby at Churchill Downs. The "most exciting two minutes in sports." A tradition going back 118 years. There have been parties all week. The major movie stars have gathered. The local paper is gaga with the celebrity count.

This, essentially, is seen-to-be-seen. It is a more graceful form of Halloween dress-up, but basically the same. While the guests in the subject guide best and bawled down on their private limousines—interlarded with a few loud fights—the ladies of Louisville O'Hara memory parade with hats that can hold a month's commission at the brokerage firm.

There is the lady in silver, a silvered limo, silver cowboy boots and rhinestone shades. Gilt as we know, is the only sport where middle-aged, middle-class men get to dress up as kings. The Kentucky Derby is the same. Men get to dress in red shades in public. They stroll along the clubhouse for display, just as the young studs at the Hammer performance. What's my career? More words can't describe the passing show.

A small place, track a luxury. Kemos Well You Merry Me, Jerry Thum, a devoted, one fan full of blacks in front of us. They stood out because they stood out. A black male at home, Perot For President. It figures. At one stage, before the two most exciting moments in sport, we have no grille—fast helicopters overhead, few small planes and the Sun blimp—downing off the Goodyear blimp. Such is tradition.

The most memorable, memorable sound of the Kentucky Derby is in fact the clatter of plastic cups. They are being knocked about the pavement to amuse house players since there are no purse cash. The plastic cups cost and beer. They are tossed overhead by everyone, clubhouse-tinted glasses included, since that is the tradition. Hilarious, hilarious, hilarious, hilarious. Will be dropped or derelict. A southern tradition. Will be dropped or derelict, it is explained. Learn something every day.

The favorite day in the stretch. The mass come down. The stretch limo arrive. The parties go on. And the Mason-Dixon line still serves. Let from Los Angeles, a May of 1992.

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